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歷史語言研究所

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第一本　第二分

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國立中央研究院
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第一本第二分

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中華民國十九年

告　　白

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本所編輯會白

中華民國十九年六月

告　白

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大乘義章書後

陳寅恪

大藏中此土撰述總詮通論之書，其最著者有三，大乘法苑義林章宗鏡錄及遠法師此書是已。宗鏡錄最晚出，亦最繁博。然永明之世，支那佛教已漸衰落，故其書雖平正篤實，罕有倫比，而精采微遜，雄盛之氣更遠不逮遠基之作，亦猶耶教聖奧古斯丁 St. Augustin 與巴士卡兒 Pascal ，其欽聖之情，固無差異，而欣感之威，則迥不相侔也。基公承慈恩一家之學，顓門絕業，今古無儔，但天竺佛教當震旦之唐代，已非復盛時。而中國六朝之世則不然，其時神州政治，雖爲紛爭之局，而思想自由，才智之士亦衆，佛教輸入，各方面皆備，不同後來之拘守一宗一家之說者。嘗論支那佛教史，要以鳩摩羅什之時爲最盛時代。中國自創之佛家，如天台宗等，追稽其原始，莫不導源於羅什，蓋非偶然也。當六朝之季，綜貫包羅數百年間南北兩朝諸家宗派學說異同之人，實爲慧遠。遠公事蹟見道宣續高僧傳卷八。其所著大乘義章一書乃六朝佛教之總匯。道宣所謂「佛法綱要盡於此焉」者也。今取大乘義章之文，與隋唐大師如智顗玄奘諸人之說相關者數條比勘之，以見其異同。

天台智者大師妙法蓮華經玄義卷一下，解「四悉檀」爲十重，一、釋名云：「悉檀，天竺語。……南岳師例「大涅槃」梵漢兼稱，「悉」是此言，「檀」是梵語，「悉」之言「遍」，「檀」翻爲「施」，佛以四法遍施衆生，故言「悉檀」也」。大乘義章卷二四悉檀義四門分別條云：「四悉檀義出大智論，言悉檀者，是中(外)國語，此方義翻，其名不一。如楞伽中子注釋言，或名爲宗，或名爲成，或云理也」。按「悉檀」乃梵語 Siddhânta 之對音，楞伽注之言是也。其字從語根 Sidh 衍出，「檀施」之「檀」乃 dâna 之對音，其字從語根 dâ 衍出，二語絕無關涉，而中文譯者偶以同一之「檀」字對音，遂致智者大師有此誤釋，殊可笑也！

又道宣集古今佛道論衡卷丙文帝詔令奘法師翻老子爲梵文事條云：「（玄奘）染翰綴文，「厥初云「道」」，此乃人言，梵云「末伽」，可以翻「度」」。道士等一時舉袂

曰：「『道』翻『末伽』，失於古譯，古稱『菩提』，此謂為『道』，未聞『末伽』，以為『道』也」。奘曰：今翻道德，奉敕不輕，須覈方言，乃名傳旨。『菩提』言『覺』，『末伽』言『道』，唐梵音義，確爾難乖，豈得浪翻，冒罔天聽！道士成英曰：『佛陀』言『覺』，『菩提』言『道』，由來盛談，道俗同委，今翻『末伽』，何得非妄」？奘曰：「傳聞濫眞，良談匪惑，未達梵言，故存恒習。『佛陀』天音，唐言『覺者』，『菩提』天語，人言為『覺』。此則人法兩異，聲采全乖。『末伽』為道，通國齊解。如不見信，謂是妄談，請以此語，問彼西人，足所行道，彼名何物，非『末伽』者，余是罪人。非唯罔上當時，亦乃取笑天下」。按「佛陀」梵文為 Buddha，「菩提」梵文為 bodhi，同自語根 Budh 衍出，然一為具體之名，一為抽象之名，所謂人法兩異者，混而同之，故慈恩以為不可。「末伽」梵音文 mārga 之對音，慈恩以為「道」之確譯者也。大乘義章卷十八無上菩提義七門分別條云：「菩提，胡語，此翻為道。……問曰：經說第一義諦亦名為道，亦名菩提，亦名涅槃，道與菩提，義應各別，今以何故，宣說菩提翻名為道乎？釋言：外國說道名多，亦名菩提，亦曰末伽。如四諦中，所有道諦，名末伽矣。此方名少，是故翻之，悉名為道。與彼外國涅槃，毘尼，此悉名滅，其義相似。經中宣說第一義諦名為道者，是末伽道。名菩提者，是菩提道。良以二種，俱名道故，得翻菩提，而為道矣」。按慧遠之書，皆本之六朝舊說。可知佛典中，道之一名，六朝時已有疑義，固不待慈恩之譯老子，始成問題也。蓋佛教初入中國，名詞翻譯，不得不依託較為近似之老莊，以期易解。後知其意誼不切當，而教義學說，亦漸普及，乃專用對音之菩提，而舍置義譯之道。此時代變遷所致，亦即六朝舊譯與唐代新譯（此指全部佛教翻譯事業言，非僅就法相宗言）區別之一例。而中國佛教翻譯史中此重公案，與今日尤有關係。吾人讀譯外國之書，輒有此方名少之感，斯蓋非唐以後之中國人，拘於方以內者所能知矣。

又大乘義章卷一衆經教迹義三門分別條略云：「晉武都隱士劉虬……所云，佛教無出頓漸二門，是言不盡。如佛所說四阿含經，五部戒律，當知非是頓漸所攝。所以而然，彼說被小，不得言頓，說通始終，不為人大，不得言漸，是故頓漸攝教不盡。又復五時七階之言，亦是謬浪」。按遠師學說，多與吉藏相近。嘉祥著述如法華玄論卷一所謂「人乘五時之規矩，格無方之聖化，妄謂此經，猶為半字，明因未圓，辨果

不足，五時旣爾，四宗亦然，廢五四之妄談，明究竟之圓旨」。及法華遊意第四辨教意門所謂「南方五時說，北土四宗論，無文傷義，昔已詳之，今略而不述也」等語，皆是。又窺基妙法蓮華經玄贊卷一明時機條云「古有釋言，教有五時，乍觀可爾，理即不然，今依古義，且破二時，後餘三時，並如古人破，恐厭文煩，且畧應止」云云，又基公大乘法苑義林章記卷一所引菩提流支法師別傳破劉虬五時判教之說，皆略同大乘義章之說，蓋同出一源也。可知天台宗五時判教之義，本非創自天台諸祖，不過襲用舊說，而稍變易之耳。然與諸祖先後同時諸大師中，亦有不以五時之說爲然者。就吾人今日佛教智識論，則五時判教之說，絕無歷史事實之根據，其不可信，豈待詳辨？然自中國哲學史方面論，凡南北朝五時四宗之說，皆中國人思想整理之一表現，亦此土自創佛教成績之一，殆未可厚非也。嘗謂世間往往有一類學說，以歷史語言學論固爲謬妄，而以哲學思想論未始非進步者，如易本卜筮象數之書，王輔嗣程伊川之注傳雖與易之本誼不符，然爲一種哲學思想之書，或竟勝於正確之訓詁。以此推論，則徐健庵成容若之經解，亦未必不於阮伯元王益吾之經解外，別具優點，要在從何方面觀察評論之耳。

上所舉三事，天台悉檀之說，爲語言之錯誤，五時判教之說，爲歷史之錯誤，慈恩末伽之說，爲翻譯之問題，凡此諸端，大乘義章皆有詳明正確之解釋，足見其書之精博，或勝於大乘法苑義林章宗鏡錄二書也。又此書日本刊本其卷一標題下有「草書惑人，傷失之甚，傳者必眞，愼勿草書」等十六字。予所見敦煌石室卷子佛經注疏，大抵草書，合肥張氏藏敦煌草書卷子三種，皆佛經注疏，其一即此書，惜未取以相校。觀日本刊本「愼勿草書」之語，則東國所據，最初中土寫本，似亦爲草書，殆當日傳寫佛典，經論則眞書，而注疏則草書，其風尙固如是歟。因倂附記之，以質博雅君子。

靈州寧夏榆林三城譯名考

（蒙古源流研究之二）

陳寅恪

歷史上往往有地名因其距離不遠，事實相關，復經數種民族之語言輾轉迻譯，以致名稱淆混，雖治史學之專家，亦不能不為其所誤者，如蒙古源流之靈州寧夏榆林等地名，是其一例。予近校此書，獲讀昔人所未見之本，故得藉以釋其疑而正其誤，此蓋機會使然，非予之庸陋不學，轉能勝於前賢也。

施密德氏 Isaac Jacob Schmidt 蒙古源流校譯本第四篇 Turmegei 城附注云：「本書著者以為西夏之都城」。又第九篇 Temegetu 城附注云：「此城或即本書著者所稱為成吉思汗所攻取而西夏末主所居之 Turmegei 城，殊未能決言」。王觀堂先生（國維）蒙古源流校本第四卷圖默格依城傍註云：「友人馬哥孛羅游記謂撒囊徹辰書說西夏之衣兒格依城 Irghai，此書紀西夏城邑僅兩舉圖默格依城，而無衣兒格依城，不知漢譯與西譯何以互異？衣兒格依城元史太祖本紀作斡羅孩城，地理志作兀剌海城，秘史作額里合牙（旁注寧夏二字）又作兀剌孩」。按施氏未見蒙古源流之滿文及中文譯本，觀堂先生未見蒙文原本及滿文譯本，故其言如此。日本那珂通世成吉思汗實錄卷十二所考靈州寧夏地名甚精審，然彼書為元秘史之和譯本，故不及榆林之名，且其所徵引，猶未完備。茲更詳稽蒙古源流諸譯本之異同，證以元明舊史之文，庶幾得以釋正施王之疑誤，並可補那珂氏所考之未備，凡前賢之說，其是者固不敢掠美，其非者亦不為曲諱，惟知求真而已。

施密德氏蒙古源流蒙文本 Temegetu 之名凡五見，Turmegei 之名凡兩見，Irgai 之名凡五見。滿文及中文譯本於 Temegetu 及 Irgai 之名以中國舊名譯之。於 Turmegei 以對音譯之。茲先論 Temegetu 及 Irgai 之名，然後再及 Turmegei 之名。

滿文本譯 Temegetu 作 Iui Lin，即中文本之榆林。譯 Irgai 作 Ning Hiya，

即中文本之寧夏。以常理而言，滿文本譯者當爲蒙人或滿人之精通蒙文者，其譯此二城之名，以中國舊名當之，而不用對音，非憑虛臆造，必有所依據，固無可疑。茲復取中國舊史所紀與蒙古源流所載爲同一之史實，而有關於此兩城之名者，參互校覈之，益可以證明其所譯之不誤也。

蒙古源流卷七紀往迎達賴喇嘛事云：

（上略）於是寧夏城之王爲首，都堂總兵大小各官，以次延請，頗著恭敬。（下略）

按此節蒙文本寧夏作 Irgai，王作 Tsching Wang。明史卷一百十七諸王傳，「慶靖王㮵太祖第十六子，洪武二十四年封，二十六年就藩寧夏」。卷四十二地理志，寧夏衛下注云，「洪武二十六年，慶王府自慶陽遷此」。卷一百二諸王世表「慶端王倪爌萬歷五年襲封，十六年薨」。據此 Tsching Wang 者慶王之對音，蒙古源流紀此事在甲申年，即萬歷十二年，此慶王當爲倪爌，此時之王，旣爲慶王，則其建邸之城，非寧夏莫屬。然則 Irgai 之爲寧夏可無疑矣。

又蒙古源流卷七云：

（上略）歲次甲午徹辰濟農年三十歲，復行兵明地，由阿拉善前往，榆林城之馬姓總兵追至。（下略）

按蒙文本徹辰濟農上有博碩克圖 Buschuktu 一語，即明史之卜失兔，甲午爲明萬歷二十二年，明史卷二百三十八麻貴傳云：

（上略）貴以功增秩予廕，尋擢總兵，鎮守延綏。（萬歷）二十二年七月，卜失兔糾衆深入定邊營，張春井貴乘虛搗其帳，於套中斬首二百五十有奇，還自寧塞，復邀其零騎。會寇留內地久，轉掠至下馬關，寧夏總兵蕭如薰不能禦，總督葉夢熊急檄貴赴援，督副將蕭如蘭等連戰騣馬臺薛家注，斬首二百三十有奇，獲畜產萬五千。（下略）

又明史卷九十一兵志，及卷一百七十八余子俊傳紀延綏徙治事相同，今並錄之。兵志略云：

（上略）先是東勝設衛守在河外榆林治綏德，後東勝內遷，失險，捐米脂魚河地幾三百里。正統間，鎮守都督王禎始築榆林城（中略）。至是（成化中）延綏

巡撫余子俊乃徙治榆林。(下略)

余子俊傳略云：

(上略)初延綏鎮治綏德州，虜騷米脂吳堡悉在外，寇以輕騎入掠，鎮兵覺而追之，輒不及，往往得利去。自子俊徙鎮，增衛益兵，拓城置戍，攻守器畢具，遂為重鎮。(下略)

施氏蒙古源流蒙文本榆林作 Temegetu，總兵之姓名作 Magha，當即麻貴之對音，而傳寫微誤。成袞札布蒙文本編校者，或滿文本譯者，以其不類漢姓，故略去下一音，僅餘 Ma 音，中文本遂譯為馬姓耳。明憲宗成化以後，延綏徙治榆林，蒙古源流所稱榆林總兵，亦猶西人習稱清代兩江總督為南京總督之例。當萬曆二十二年之秋，寧夏鎮總兵為蕭如薰，延綏鎮總兵為麻貴，則蒙古源流蒙文本之 Magha 必為麻貴，Magha 既為麻貴，則 Temegetu 城非榆林莫屬，是 Temegetu 之應譯為榆林又可無疑矣。

Irgai 之為寧夏 Temegetu 之為榆林，既已證明。則音譯之圖默格依 Turmegei 即元秘史卷十二之朶兒篾該對音適切，其為一地自無疑義。拉施特書亦有此城名，多桑 D'Ohsson 讀為 Derssekai 額爾篤曼 Erdmann 讀為 Deresgai，其中 s 之音疑為傳寫之誤。按元秘史紀狗兒年攻靈州一節，其蒙文音譯朶兒篾該旁注靈州二字，與元史太祖本紀二十一年丙戌冬十一月庚申帝攻靈州同一事，則靈州之為朶兒篾該無待再為之證明。故中文圖默格依即蒙文滿文本之 Turmegei，亦即元秘史之朶兒篾該。然則蒙古源流之圖默格依準 Temegetu 及 Irgai 之例，不以對音譯而以中國舊名譯，當為靈州二字，無疑也。

三城之譯名皆已考定，然後可以辨昔賢舊說之是非。觀堂先生謂衣兒格依城Irgai 即元秘史之額里合牙其說是也。所以知其是者，元秘史續集卷二，額里合牙傍注寧夏二字，如朶兒篾該傍註靈州二字者相同，多桑 D,Ohsson 引拉施特書謂西夏國都名Irghai，蒙古人謂之 Ircaya，Ircaya 與額里合牙對音適符，而西夏國都即寧夏，又與傍註脗合，故衣兒格依 Irghai 即秘史之額里合牙無疑也。惟先生又謂衣兒格依城即竺羅孩、兀剌海、兀剌孩，其說非也。所以知其非者，元秘史續集卷二，額里合牙與兀剌孩同列一卷中，對音既異，一則旁注寧夏，一則否。又元史地理志甘肅等處行中

書省所屬寧夏路與兀剌海路並列，其爲二地可知。且地理志兀剌海路下注云：「太祖四年由黑水城北兀剌海西關口入河西，獲西夏將高令公，克兀剌海城」。與太祖本紀「四年己巳，帝入河西，夏主李安全遣其世子來戰，敗之，獲其副元帥高令公，克兀剌海城，薄中興府，引河水灌之，堤決水外潰，遂撤圍而還」。所載適符。據此可知是役僅克兀剌海而未克中興府。元史地理志寧夏府路下注云：「自唐末有拓拔思恭者鎭夏州，世有銀夏綏宥靜五州之地。宋天禧間，傳其孫德明，城懷遠鎭爲興州以居，後升興慶府，又改中興府」。夫中興府，即寧夏，亦即衣兒格依 Irgai，然則衣兒格依與兀剌海決不得爲一地明矣。又元史太祖本紀二年「丁卯秋再征西夏克斡羅孩城。四年己巳帝入河西克兀剌海城」。聖武親征錄「丁卯秋再征西夏，冬克斡羅孩城」。斡羅孩與兀剌海對音適合，故史家皆以爲一地，如柯蓼園丈劭忞新元史太祖本紀書「二年丁卯秋，帝親征西夏，入兀剌海城，五年庚午秋，帝再伐西夏，復入兀剌海城」。柯氏以斡羅孩即兀剌海，故第一役亦作兀剌海而不作斡羅孩，第二役則書復入。（柯氏繫第二役於五年庚午，而不於四年己巳者，蓋從拉施特書及聖武親征錄，屠敬山先生（寄）蒙兀史記亦與新元史同，惟觀堂先生聖武親征錄校注「庚午西夏獻女爲好」有「此年事拉施特書繫於蛇年」等語，按元史譯文證補卷一下太祖本紀譯證「馬年秋又征合申，帝至兀剌孩城指揮軍事，旣勝合申納女而回。觀堂先生所云當即指此，然此事拉施特氏實繫於馬年，而非蛇年，徧檢上年，即蛇年，幷無類似之事，不知所出，待考。）若斡羅孩與兀剌海爲一地，則據上文所述，與衣兒格依 Irgai（即寧夏）絕無關涉，焉得謂衣兒格依即斡羅孩乎？又屠氏蒙兀史記謂兀剌孩即元史李恆傳之兀納剌及雄牧庵集中書左丞李公家廟碑之兀納。然兀納剌與兀剌孩對音殊不相近，如無他證，似不能合爲一地也。

王觀堂先生前數年校蒙古源流時，未見蒙文滿文諸本，故不知 Irghai 即寧夏，謂此書紀西夏城邑，僅兩舉圖默格依，而友爾馬哥波羅游記所引之 Irghai，不見於中文本，因不解漢譯與西譯，何以互異？今予以機緣獲見先生當日所未見之本，遂得釋此疑，若先生有知，亦當爲之一快也。

至施密德氏疑 Temegetu 或與 Turmegei 同爲一地，據上文所述，Temegetu 爲榆林，Turmegei 爲靈州，旣已証明爲兩地，實無牽合爲一之理。且蒙古源流著者亦

未顯稱圖默格依爲西夏國都，惟言其爲末主錫都爾固汗所居耳。（靈州爲夏人先世繼遷舊都，蒙古源流著者容有誤會。）然則施氏所疑之不當，又不待言也。

今綜上文所述，得以證明四端，除中國近日如洪王諸家所譯之對音不計外：

(一) Turmegei 圖默格依、朶兒篾該、靈州、 Derssekai. Deresgai 等名，同屬一地。

(二) Irgai, (Irghai), 寧夏、中興府、夏王城、（見元史太祖本紀二十二年）等名，同屬一地。

(三) Temegetu, 榆林等名，同屬一地。

(四) 兀喇海、兀喇孩、斡羅孩等名，與 Irgai 非屬一地，至其當今日之何地，及友爾 Henry Yule 馬哥波羅游記注誤以西京府之 Egrigaia當寧夏等問題，以其不在本文範圍之內，姑不具論。茲僅就此關於蒙古源流之三城考定其譯名，或亦讀是書者之一助歟？

聲調之推斷

及

"聲調推斷尺"之製造與用法

劉　　復

1〕語言中的"聲調"(intonation)，無論是屬於字的方面的(所謂"字調")，或是屬於句的方面的(所謂"句調")，簡括說來，只是"音高"(pitch)的起落罷了。所以研究聲調，實際就是研究音高的起落；不過聲調是語言學中的名詞，音高的起落是物理學或音樂中的名詞，在於不知道底細的人，或者不免要錯認為兩件不同的事。

2〕研究音高的起落有三種方法：

第一法便是直接用耳朵聽：這在"耳音"特別發達的人，或受過極充分的"耳聽訓練"的人，也可以得到相當的結果(當然是很粗疏的)；在一般人，却只能於最明顯最簡單之處，略略聽出一點，此外便是茫然無所措手。

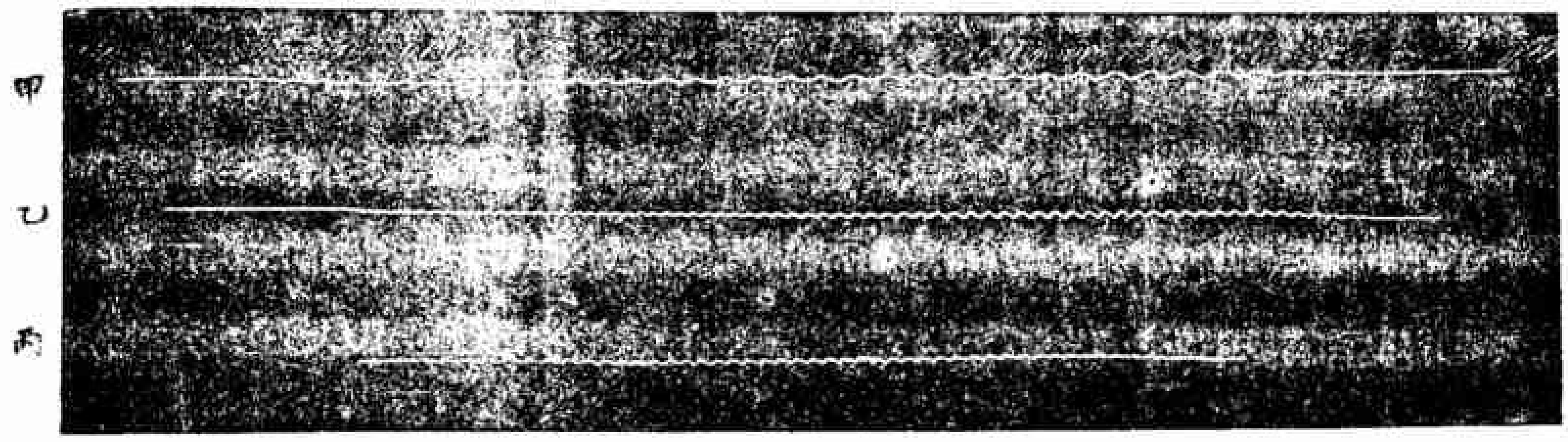
第二法介於直聽與實驗之間，是 Daniel Jones 做聲調曲線(Intonation Curves)一書時所用的方法。他先把語音收蓄在蠟片裡(或取現成的蠟片)，然後把蠟片放在留聲機上，照常發送出聲音來。到鋼針或鑽針走到每一個"有聲的音"(voiced sound)的中央時，便隨即把它提起，於是藉着耳朵裏所留存着的這一個音的印象，來斷定它的"絕對音高"(absolute pitch)。用這同樣的方法，把一張蠟片裏所有的"純音"(vowels)及"有聲雜音"(voiced consonants)的音高一起斷定；——在必要時，把一個音分作兩部分或三部分，每一部分作一次之斷定。到完全斷定了，然後聯接起來，作成一條曲線。我在倫敦大學語音學實驗室工作時，曾見 Daniel Johes 的助手 Stephen Jones 和一個印度學生用這方法研究梵語的聲調。當時我因為自己別有工作，未曾參加，只是從旁畧畧看看。這從旁畧畧看看所給我的印象就不大好：我覺得

這種測驗法，手續不能算不麻煩，而所得結果，却不甚可靠：他所謂"斷定"，實際有許多處仍舊是以意爲之，不能認爲有力量的斷定。後來我和趙元任兄談起這件事，問他的意見怎麼樣。他說他照樣試驗過，結果是了無所得；因爲蠟盤旋轉得很快，要預定了在每一點上把針提起，往往做不到；而且，即使做得到，這針尖提起時一剎那間所給的音高的印象，也決不能代表一個音的先後各部的音高。如此說，這種方法簡直是根本不能存在。但 Daniel Jones 曾用它著了一部書，我們又何從反對呢？我們只能說：這是 Daniel Jones 的個人方法罷！

第三法純粹用實驗的方術。此項方術，又可以分作兩步說：第一步是用一座"浪線計"（Kymograph），配以音鼓及電流音叉等，將所要研究的單字或語句，很忠實的畫在烟薰紙上，這叫做"記音"。第二步是根據烟薰紙上所畫的浪線，推斷所研究的單字或語句中的音高的起落。這兩步工作，我在四聲實驗錄中已大致說過。本文的目的，在於將第二步的推斷方術加以更充分的說明，並將我自己所造的"聲調推斷尺"介紹於世，故於第一步的"記音"工作略而不論。

種種的推斷法

3）假定烟薰紙上所畫出的浪線很好（這就是說：所有的顫動（vibrations），都能一個一個清清楚楚畫出），我們只須粗粗一看，就可以看出音高起落的大概來：若顫動密，則其音必高；反之，若顫動稀，則其音必低。例如第一圖，有甲乙丙三浪



第　一　圖

線：甲線中的顫動稀，其音低；乙線中的顫動比較密一點，其音比較高一點；丙線中

的顫動最密，其音最高；又甲乙二線的顫動，都是先密後稀，故均爲下降音；丙線的顫動是先稀後密，故爲上升音。這種粗率的觀察所得的結果當然是極不精密的。但在實際上，有時只須知道某音與某音相較是孰高孰低，不必要知道高低間的程度如何；有時只須知道某音是上升或是下降，不必知道上升了幾許，或下降了幾許，那麼，這粗率的觀察法也就有了用處了。不過，就一般而論，我們的需要決不能這樣簡單，所以這一法總是不大用，而必採用一種相當的推斷法，以求一比較精密一點的，或者是，滿够精的結果。

（4）推斷的方法雖有種種之不同，但其原理，總不外乎就浪線計上圓柱體旋轉的速度（即烟薰紙行走的速度），以推測語音中各顫動的遲疾。

測驗圓柱體旋轉的速度用電流音义，或用他種計時器。

速度的大小，是屬於時間方面的長短；到畫上了烟薰紙，就變做了屬於空間方面的長短。

所以，以圓柱體旋轉的速度與語音中各顫動的速度相較，本來是時間方面的事，現在却已變做了空間方面的事。

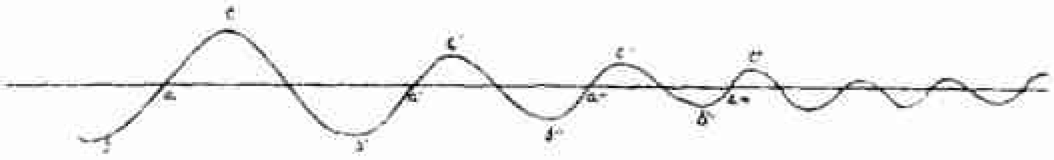
（5）圓柱體旋轉的速度，應當是絕對平均的。但這"絕對平均"一句話，只能在理想中存在着。在事實上無論你在機械方面用何種苦功，你只能做到"相當平均"這一步。所謂相當平均，是說大致與平均相差不遠；即使有時快，有時慢，所差還並不很多。

要是所用的浪線計還不能具有這"相當平均"一個條件，則在聲音的推斷上，就有很多的困難。我們稱這一類的推斷爲甲類推斷。

反之，若所用浪線計能於具有"相當平均"這一個條件，則在推斷上就要省事一點。我們稱這一類的推斷爲乙類推斷。

（6）無論爲甲類推斷爲乙類推斷，總應當把浪線中的每一個顫動作爲一單位；但在不求十分精密時，也可以把每兩個或每三個顫動作爲一單位。

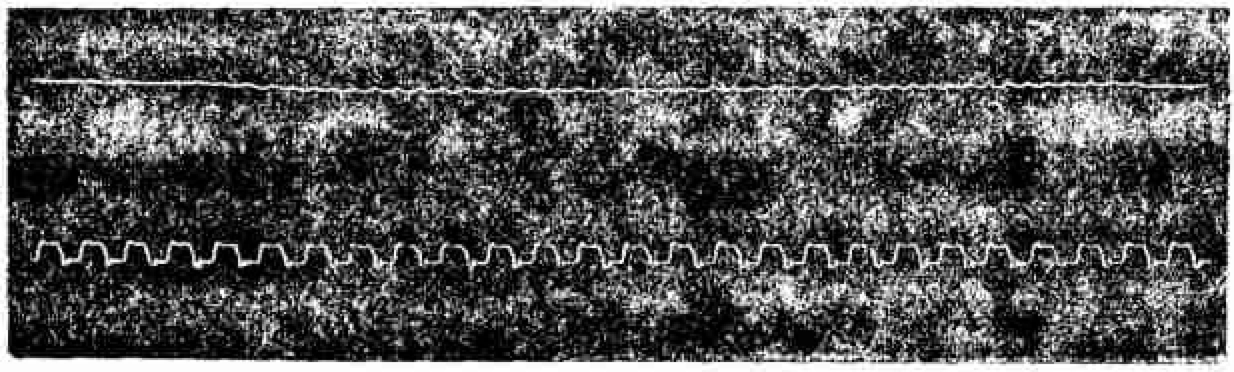
我們既然把顫動認爲推斷工作中的單位，就應當知道每一個顫動的起點在什麼地方，終點在什麼地方。如第二圖中的一條浪線，包含着六個多(嚴密的說，是$6\frac{3}{4}$）顫



第 二 圖

動；別有一條直線，是各顫動共同的中線。照理論說，各顫動的起點和終點，都應當以中線爲標準。如第一個顫動，應當是起於 a ，終於 a′；第二個應當起於 a′，終於 a″；第三個應當起於 a″ ，終於 a‴。但烟薰紙上所畫出的，只有浪線，並沒有中線；要有中線，應當另用方法推求；若要推求得正確，手續非常複雜。事實上，若研究的目的只在於推斷音高，誰都不願意(而且也犯不着)這樣笨做；通常都是略略變通一點，把每一顫動的頂點(最高點)或底點(最低點)，作爲起訖的標準。如以頂點爲標準，則第一個顫動起於 c ，終於 c′；第二個起於 c′，終於 c″；如以底點爲標準，則第一個顫動起於 b ，終於 b′；第二個起於 b′ ，終於 b″。這裡面所有的錯誤是一望而知的。但在推斷音高的工作中，這一點小錯誤，實在算不了什麼，儘可以置之不問。

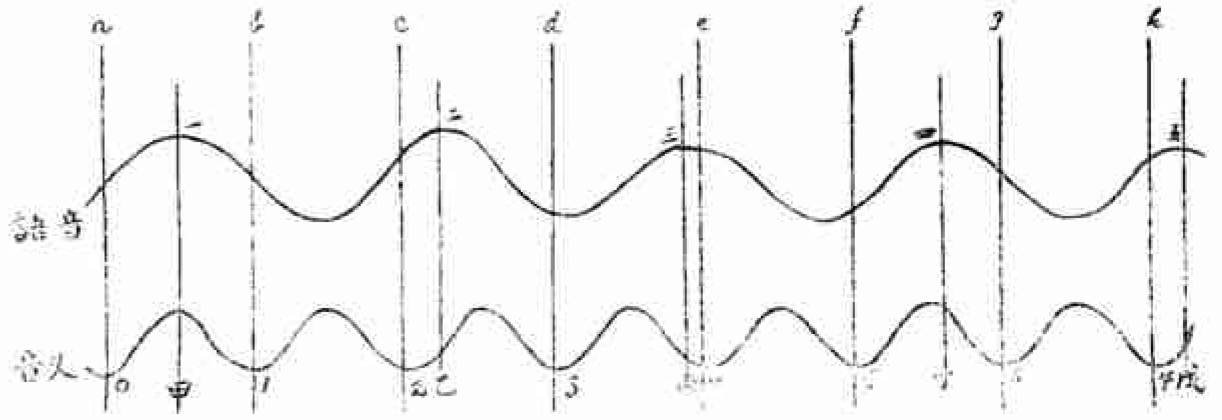
7）因浪線計上圓柱體的旋轉不能具有相當平均的條件而欲施行甲種推斷，在記音時便應當以音鼓與電流音叉同時並用，使烟薰紙上畫出兩條平行的浪線。如第三圖，上面一條是語音的浪線，下面一條是音叉的浪線，互相平行。



第 三 圖

這種平行的浪線畫成之後，可以任取一浪線中各顫動之界點爲標準（前一顫動之終點，即後一顫動之起點，爲簡約計，可混稱之曰界點），畫成許多平行線，與浪線

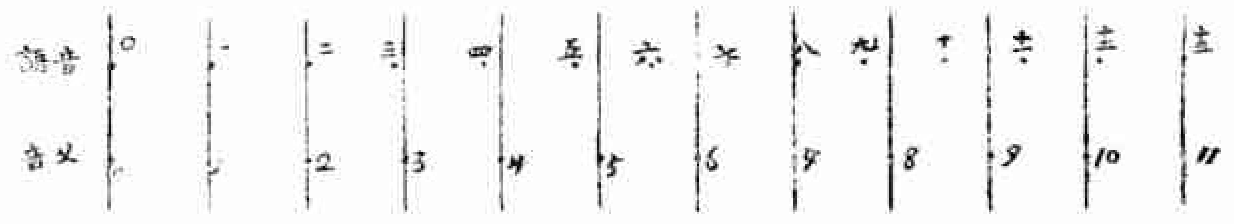
正交，而且通過兩條浪線。如第四圖，上面一線是語音的浪線，下面一線是音义的浪



第　　四　　圖

線，我們可以用語音線中一，二，三，四，五諸界點，畫成一甲，二乙，三丙，四丁，五戊諸平行線；也可以用音义線中 0，1，2，3，4，5，6，7 諸界點，畫成a0，b1，c2，d3，e4，f5，g6，h7 諸平行線；這些線都與浪線正交，而且通過兩條浪線。

8） 如第五圖，上行0，一，二，三，四，……諸點，是語音線中各顫動的界



第　　五　　圖

點；下行 0，1，2，3，4，……諸點，是音义線中各顫動的界點。我們若以下行諸點為標準，就可以畫成自 0 至11共十二條平行線，每兩線中相隔的長度，代表音义上每一顫動所佔有的時間。音义的顫動數，應當是已知的，而且永遠是平均的（雖然也有製造得不好的音义，不能符合這個條件）。假如音义的顫動數是 100，即每秒鐘顫動一百次（一百個往復，所謂"複顫動"），則圖中每兩平行線間相隔的長度，無論是自 0 至 1，或自1至2，或自2至3，……都是代表一秒的 100 分之 1。

這樣，我們就可以逐段研究了：

第一段，下面是自0至1，上面也是 0 至一，恰巧相同。我們另用一張紙，寫下一

個 1 字來，即 1:1=1 的意思。

第二段同。

第三段，下面是自2至3，上面是自二至三之外，還有自三至四中間的一部分，約爲十分之一。 $1+\frac{1}{10}=1\frac{1}{10}=1.1$ ，我們把 1.1 寫下。

第四段，下面是自3至4，上面是：自三至四中已經去了一個十分之一，餘下的是十分之九；還有自四至五中的一部分，約爲十分之二。$\frac{9}{10}+\frac{2}{10}=\frac{11}{10}=1.1$，我們再把1.1寫下。

如此類推，得第五段的結果爲 $\frac{8}{10}+\frac{3}{10}=\frac{11}{10}=1.1$，第六段的結果爲 $\frac{7}{10}+\frac{6}{10}=\frac{13}{10}=1.3$，第七段的結果爲 $\frac{4}{10}+1=\frac{14}{10}=1.4$，第八段的結果爲 $1+\frac{3}{10}=\frac{13}{10}=1.3$，第九段的結果爲 $\frac{7}{10}+\frac{6}{10}=\frac{13}{10}=1.3$，第十段的結果爲 $\frac{4}{10}+\frac{9}{10}=\frac{13}{10}=1.3$，第十一段的結果爲 $\frac{1}{10}+1=\frac{11}{10}=1.1$。

把所得結果依次寫下，即爲第一表中第一行之"比例數"。

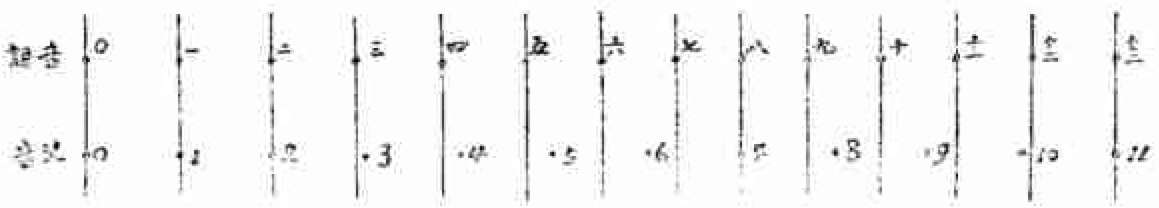
比　例　數	1	1	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.3	1.4	1.3	1.3	1.3	1.1
顫　動　數	100	100	110	110	110	130	140	130	130	130	110
對　　　數	.00	.00	.04	.04	.04	.11	.15	.11	.11	.11	.04

第　一　表

此項比例數的解釋法是如此：若比例數爲 1，意即謂音叉顫動一次時，語音也顫動一次。今已知音叉每秒鐘之顫動數爲 100，則語音每秒鐘之顫動數，當然也是100。若比例數爲 1.1，意即謂音叉顫動一次時，語音顫動一次又十分之一，較音叉快十分之一。故音叉之顫動數爲 100，語音之顫動數 110。照此類推，得表中第二行之"顫動數"，實即語音在每一段中所有的平均顫動數，亦即語音在每一段中所有的平均音高。

因作圖時顫動數不能將音高正確表出，必須用顫動數的對數，故將"對數"列於表中第三行。作圖所用對數，普通只用兩位，用三位的很少，故表中只列兩位。若對數中的整數全體相同，可將整數取消了，單用尾數，故表中把應有的整數2取消了(下同)。

9〕若以上行諸點（即語音中各顫動的界點）爲標準而畫平行線，則成第六圖。



第　六　圖

圖中第一''二兩段(即0至一，一至二)的比例數仍爲 1。

第三段，上行自二至三，約當於下行自2至3的十分之九，寫.9。

第四段，上行自三至四，下行有自2至3賸餘下來十分之一，加自3至4的一部分，約有十分之八。$\frac{1}{10}+\frac{8}{10}=\frac{9}{10}$，寫.9。

如此類推，所得結果爲$\frac{2}{10}+\frac{7}{10}=\frac{9}{10}=.9$，$\frac{3}{10}+\frac{5}{10}=\frac{8}{10}=.8$，$\frac{5}{10}+\frac{3}{10}=\frac{8}{10}=.8$，$\frac{7}{10}=.7$，$\frac{7}{10}=.7$，$\frac{3}{10}+\frac{5}{10}=\frac{8}{10}=.8$，$\frac{5}{10}+\frac{3}{10}=\frac{8}{10}=.8$，$\frac{7}{10}+\frac{1}{10}=\frac{8}{10}=.8$，$\frac{9}{10}=.9$，寫爲第二表中第一行之"比例數"。

比例數	1	1	.9	.9	.9	.8	.8	.7	.7	.8	.8	.8	.9
反對數	.00	.00	.05	.05	.05	.10	.10	.16	.16	.10	.10	.10	.05
顫動數	100	100	111	111	111	125	125	143	143	125	125	125	111
對　數	.00	.00	.05	.05	.05	.10	.10	.16	.16	.10	.10	.10	.05

第　二　表

此項比例數的解釋法是如此：若比例數爲 1，意即謂語音顫動一次時，音叉也顫動一次。今已知音叉之顫動數爲 100，則語音之顫動數，當然也是 100。若比例數爲.9，意即謂語音顫動一次時，音叉只顫動一次的十分之九。換句話說，就是語音顫動一次所用的時間，只相當於音叉顫動一次所用的時間的十分之九。今音叉每秒鐘顫動 100 次，以.9除之，得 111，即爲語音在一秒鐘之內的顫動的次數。照此推算，得表中第三行的"顫動數"，即語音中各顫動在一秒鐘內自有的顫動數，亦即語音中各顫動自有的音高。

如前表之例，則各顫動數的對數於第四行。

若不求顫動數而逕依據比例數作圖，則須用比例數的"反對數"(reciprocal logarithms)，即 $\log\frac{1}{n}$，如表中第二行所列。〔我們也可以依據第一表中的比例數作圖，但須用比例數的對數，而不能用反對數。我們假定音叉的顫動數是 100，所以第一表中比例數的對數（表中未列）與顫動數的對數應當是相同的，第二表中比例數的反對數與顫動數的對數也應當是相同的（所謂相同，只指尾數言，整數可以不問）。若音叉的顫動數不是做10的倍數的 100 或 1000，那就決不能相同。但在數目上是不同，畫到圖上去，高低間的比例，還是相同的。——關於作圖所以要用對數的理由，已在四聲實驗錄中說明，茲不贅述〕。

為便利述說起見，我們可以稱第 8 節的推斷法為"甲一推斷法"，稱第 9 節的推斷法為"甲二推斷法"。

10 若浪線計上圓柱體的旋轉能於具有"相當平均"一個條件，我們就可以不用甲種推斷法而用乙種推斷法。

施行乙種推斷法，記音時不必把音叉與音鼓並用而畫成兩條平行的浪線，只須依據一條從音鼓中所畫出來的語音線。

我們應當預備一個廓大鏡，以放大十倍者為最適宜；再預備一枝玻璃小尺，總長為 50mm. 或 100mm.，其中每 1 mm 用"顯微鏡刻度法"分為十等分；度刻均在玻璃的背面，放在紙上時，刻紋與紙面密接；刻紋用紅色染，俾與烟薰紙的黑色可以互相襯托。（巴黎 Nachet 顯微鏡公司製造者甚佳；在七年前，長 100mm. 者價一百法郎。）

有了這兩種器具，我們就可以把烟薰紙上每一個顫動的長度，正確量出。其法，先將烟薰紙平鋪在桌子上，或者更好一點，鋪在繪畫板上。次將玻璃尺放在烟薰紙上，以尺上的 0，壓在所要量的一條浪線的第一個界點。接着便將廓大鏡放在玻璃尺上，看每一個界點，相當於尺上的若干，直到全尺 100mm. 或 50mm. 都已量完，然後將尺移動。如第七圖，尺的 0，相當於界點 0，這是在開始時就安排好的。接着用廓大鏡往下看；

第　七　圖

界點一，相當於尺上的 1，寫1.0，

界點二，相當於尺上的 2，寫2.0，

界點三，相當於尺上的2.9，寫2.9，

界點四，相當於尺上的3.8，寫3.8，

如此類推，所得結果爲第三表第一行之"量得數"。

量得數	1.0	2.0	2.9	3.8	4.7	5.5	6.3	7.0	7.7	8.5	9.3	10.1	11.0
長度	1.0	1.0	.9	.9	.9	.8	.8	.7	.7	.8	.8	.8	9
反對數	.00	.00	.05	.05	.05	.10	.10	.16	.16	.10	.10	.10	.05
顫動數(甲)	100	100	111	111	111	125	125	143	143	125	125	125	111
對　數(甲)	.00	.00	.05	.05	.05	.10	.10	.16	.16	.10	.10	.10	.05
顫動數(乙)	125	125	139	139	139	156	156	178	178	156	156	156	139
對　數(乙)	.10	.10	.14	.14	.14	.19	.19	.25	.25	.19	.19	.19	.14

第　三　表

第一個量得數 1.0，即爲第一個顫動之長度；

從第二個量得數2.0 中減去第一個量得數1.0，得 1.0，爲第二個顫動之長度；

從第三個量得數2.9 中減去第二個量得數 2.0，得 .9，爲第三個顫動之長度；

如此類推，得表中第二行之"長度"，即各顫動自有之長度。

假如我們不要求出各顫動在一秒鐘內自有的顫動數，而只依據各顫動的長度作圖，那就只須找出各長度的反對數來就可以(表中第三行)。

若要求出各顫動在一秒鐘內的顫動數來，却應當知道圓柱體的面（即烟薰紙的面），在一秒鐘之內能走多少長。(此項速度之測定法，已見四聲實驗錄，茲不贅。）知道之後，以各顫動的長度除之，即是得數。

假定烟薰紙的面每秒鐘走 100mm ，以第一顫動之長度 1.0mm. 除之，得100，即爲第一顫動在一秒鐘之內的顫動數。（第二顫動同。）以第三顫動之長度 .9mm.除之，得 111，即爲第三顫動在一秒鐘之內的顫動數。如此類推，得表中第四行的“顫動數(甲)”，其對數爲第五行的“對數(甲)”。

若烟薰紙的面每秒鐘走125mm.，則得數便應爲表中第六行的“顫動數(乙)”，及第七行的“對數(乙)”。

11〕另有一種較爲簡便一點（當然，結果也要粗疏一點）的方法。如第八圖，自

第　八　圖

第一界點至末一界點，中間共有三十六個顫動，我們在第一個界點上畫一條與浪線正交的直線 0，此後便按着一定的距離畫許多平行線，1，2，3，4，……等。（距離以 3mm.或4mm. 爲最好，至多也不能過於5mm.。）爲省事計，也可以取一張明角片(或取照相所用的膠片，放在定影水裏浸透明了)，用尖細的針子畫成許多平行的直線，到應用時，把這明角片覆合在烟薰紙上，以第一直線與第一界點相當，——這就可以不必在每一浪線上畫許多平行線了。

圖中第一段，自0至1，包有第一第二兩完全顫動，和第三顫動的十分之三。$2+\frac{3}{10}=2.3$，寫 2.3。

第二段，自1至2，包有第三顫動的十分之七，加第四顫動全個，再加第五顫動的十分之八。$\frac{7}{10}+1+\frac{8}{10}=2.5$，寫2.5。

如此類推，得 $\frac{2}{10}+2+\frac{4}{10}=2.6$，$\frac{6}{10}+2+\frac{3}{10}=2.9$，$\frac{7}{10}+2+\frac{6}{10}=3.3$，$\frac{4}{10}+4+\frac{2}{10}=4.6$，$\frac{8}{10}+3+\frac{2}{10}=4.0$，$\frac{8}{10}+2+\frac{8}{10}=3.6$，$\frac{2}{10}+2+\frac{8}{10}=2.7$，$\frac{5}{10}+2=2.5$。

將此項結果寫爲第四表第一行的“顫動比”，依據其對數（第二行），亦可作圖。

顫動比	2.3	2.5	2.6	2.9	3.3	4.6	4.6	3.6	2.7	2.5
對數	.36	.40	.42	.46	.52	.66	.60	.56	.43	.40
顫動數	46	50	52	58	66	92	80	72	54	50
對數	.66	.70	72	.76	.82	.96	.90	.86	.73	.70

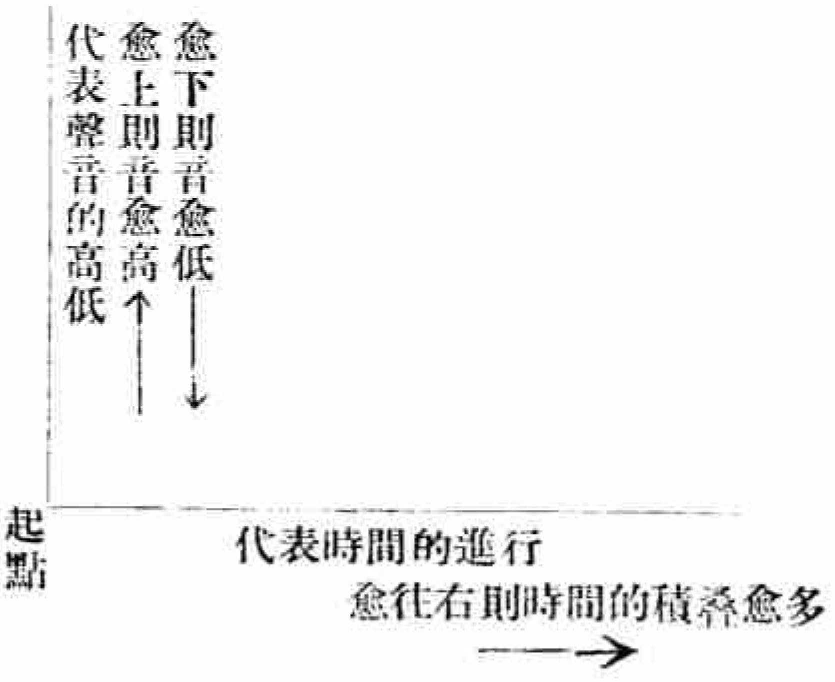
第　四　表

假定各平行線間的距離爲 5mm.，而圓柱體的面（即烟薰紙的面）， 每秒鐘行走 100 mm.，則 $\frac{100}{5}=20$，即兩平行線間的距離所代表的是 $\frac{1}{20}$秒。今第一段中有 2.3 顫動，而其時間則爲 $\frac{1}{20}$秒，則每顫動所佔有之平均時間應爲 $\frac{1}{20\times 2.3}=\frac{1}{46}$秒；換句話說，就是這 2.3 顫動中的每一顫動，平均在一秒鐘中顫動46次。依此類推，求得表中第三行的"顫動數"，及第四行的"對數"。

爲便於述說起見，我們可以稱第10節的推斷法爲"乙一推斷法"，稱第11節的推斷法爲"乙二推斷法"。

12） 推斷所得結果，只是許多數字，看上去仍是一盤散沙。必須依據所得數字畫起圖來，然後音高的起落，才可以一目了然。所以作圖是推斷的最後一步工作。

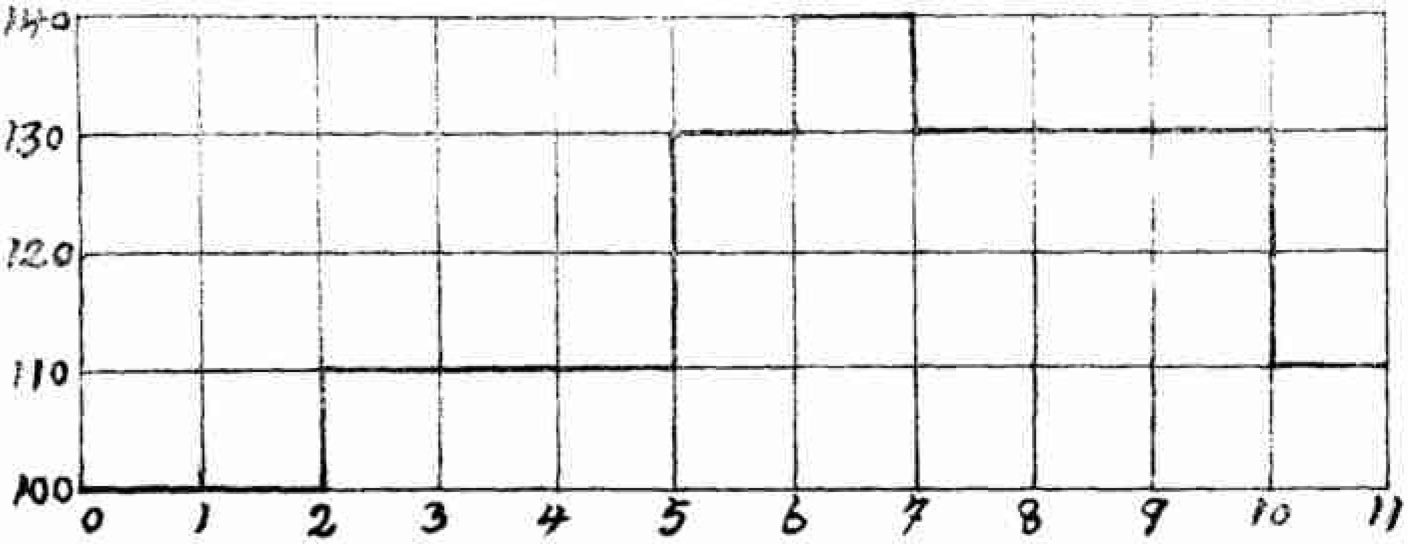
畫圖時，通常用 1mm. 的方格紙，以直的方向代表聲音的高低，以橫的方向代表時間的進行，如第九圖。



第　九　圖

至於以方格紙中的一格，代表數字中的若干，却可以斟酌情形，自由規定；而且橫直兩方向，不必取同一標準。

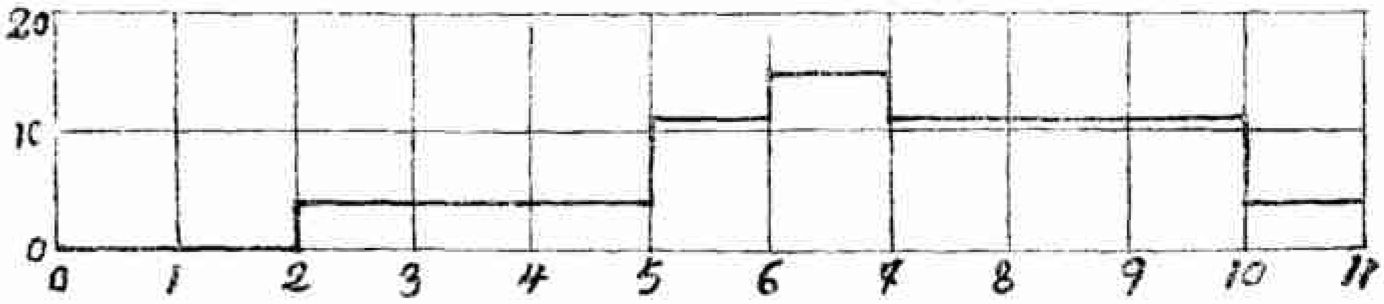
13) 如第十圖，是依據甲一推斷法所得顫動數（第一表第二行）畫成的。圖中直的方面以 1mm. 代表一顫動，橫的方面，以10mm.代表推斷時的一段。（因1mm.的方



第　十　圖

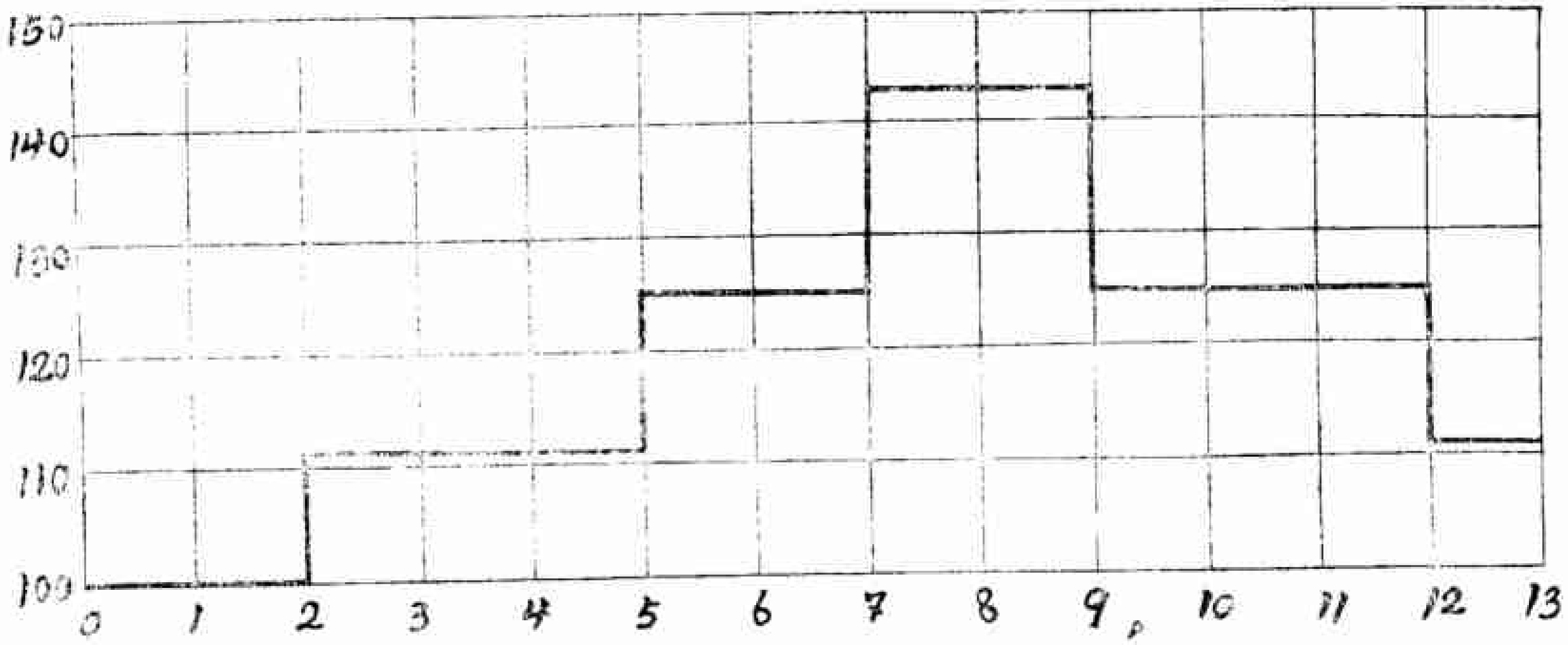
格不容易製板，所以現在的圖裡，只有 10mm. 的方格，以下諸圖準此。）

這樣直接用顫動數畫在圖裡，所表顯的只是顫動數增進或減少的比例，並不是音高起落的比例。雖然這方法直到現在還有人用，究竟是不合理的。合理的圖，應當依據顫動數的對數(第一表第三行)，如第十一圖。



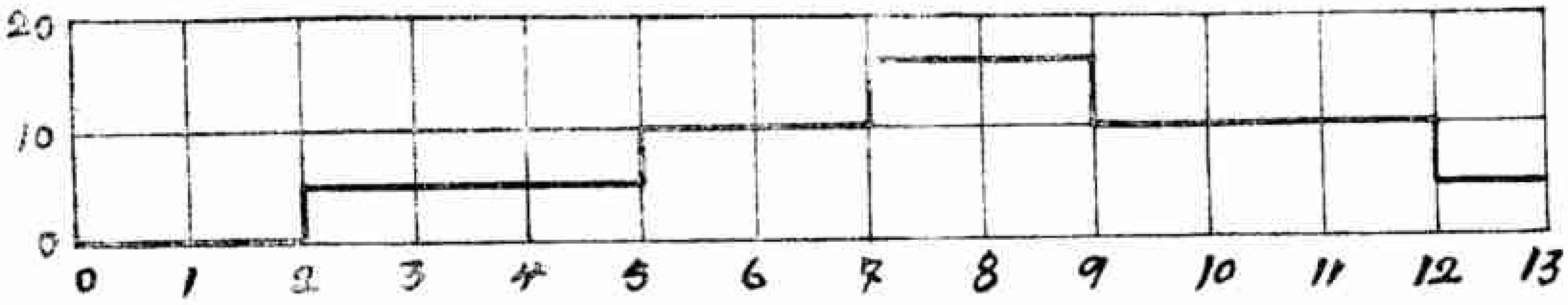
第　十　一　圖

14) 同樣，依甲二推斷法所得顫動數(第二表第三行)畫成第十二圖。



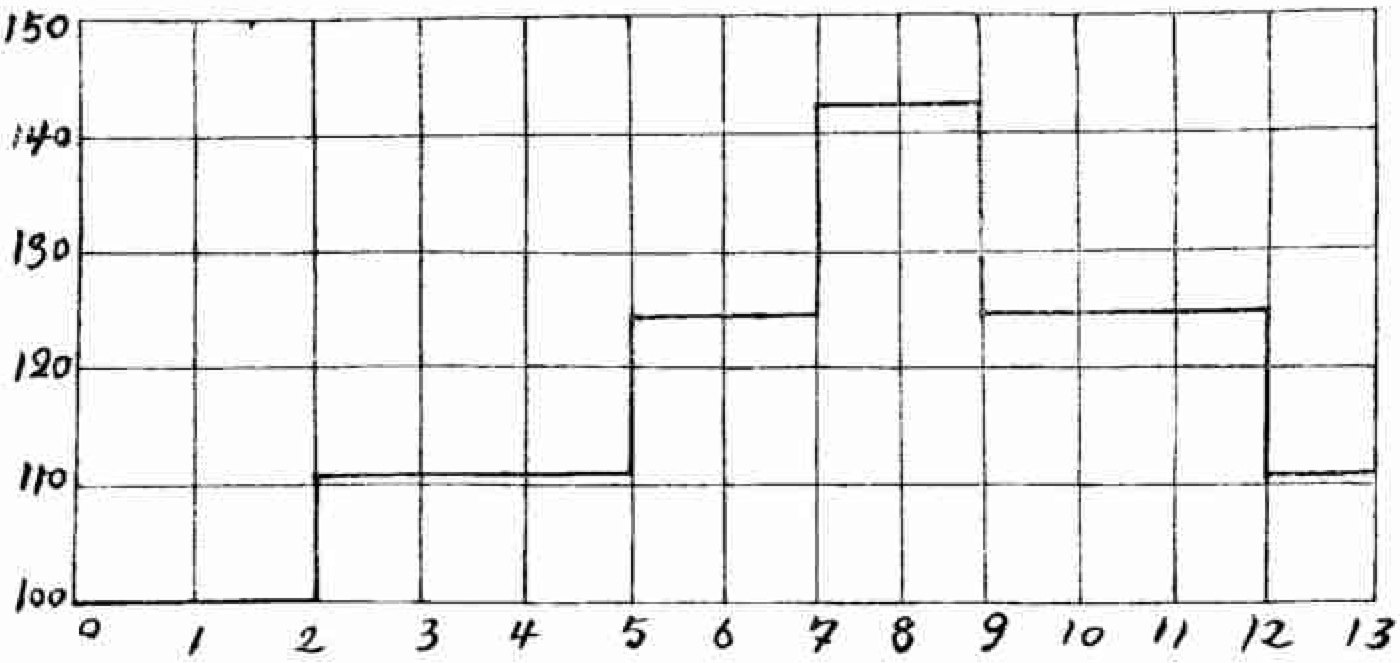
第 十 二 圖

若用其比例數之反對數(第二行)或頤動數之對數(第四行)，則得第十三圖。

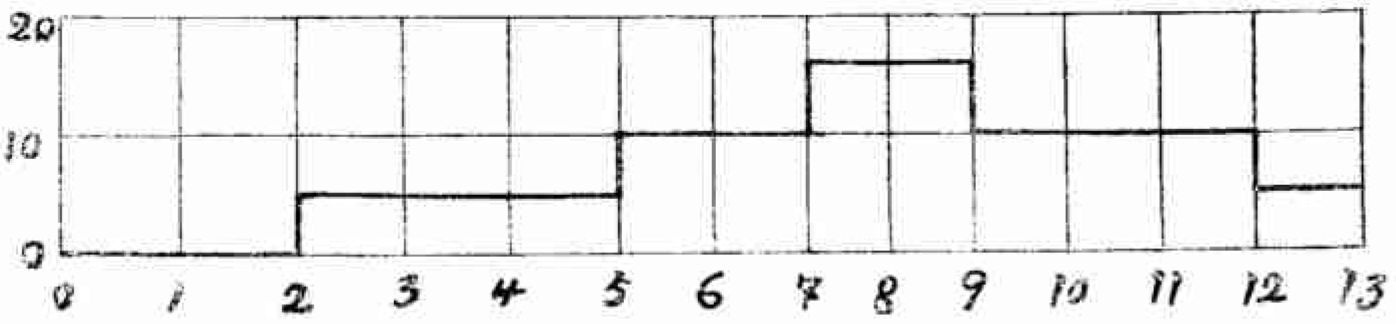


第 十 三 圖

這十二十三兩圖，都不是正確的。因為圖中橫的方面以 10mm. 代表推斷時的一段；這 10mm. 是始終一致的，是彼此相等的，而推斷時的各段，却是有長有短，並不相等。所以，若要作正確的圖，應以各段自有之長短為比例，將第十二圖校改為第十四圖，第十三圖校改為第十五圖。



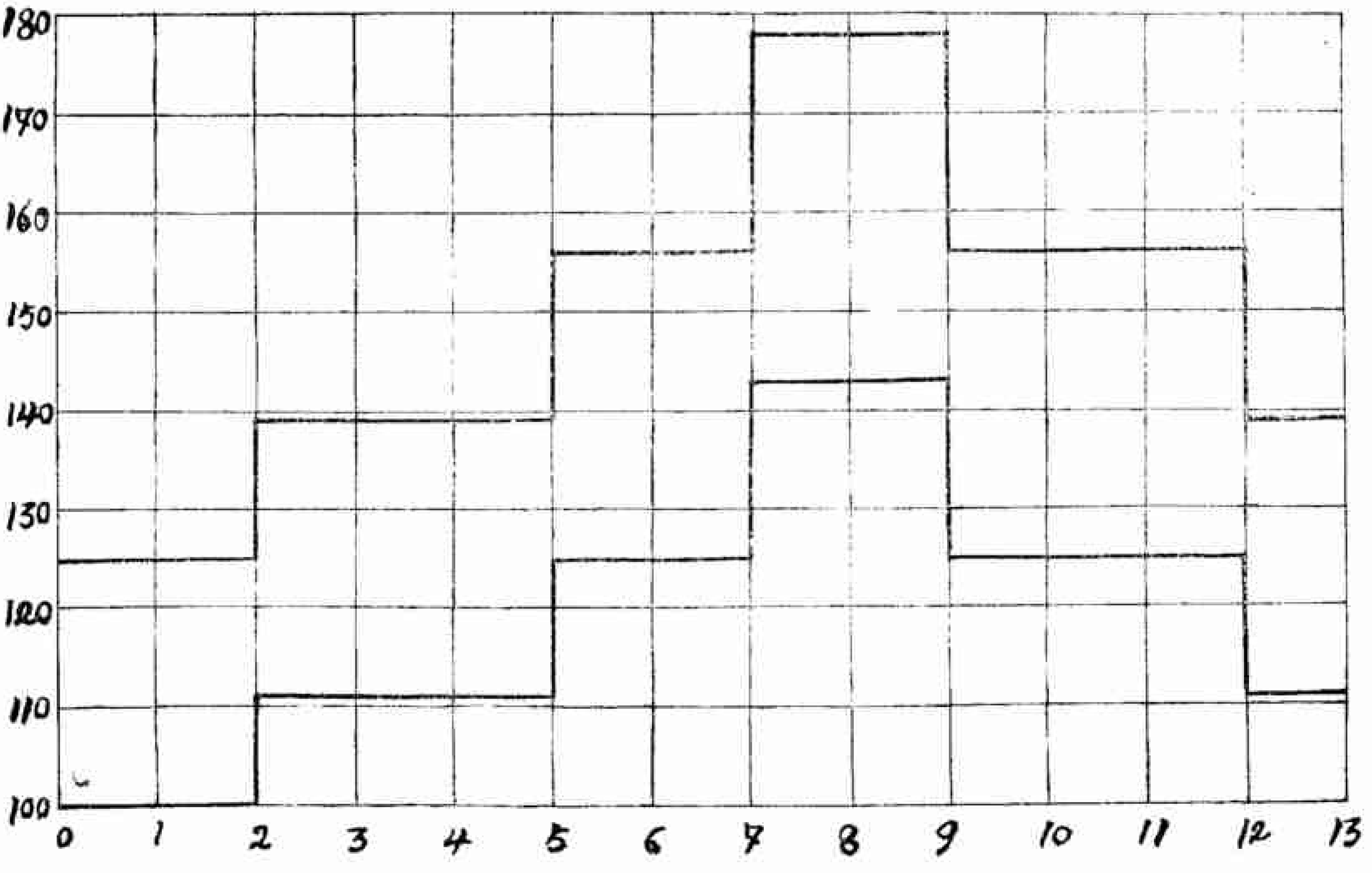
第 十 四 圖



第十五圖

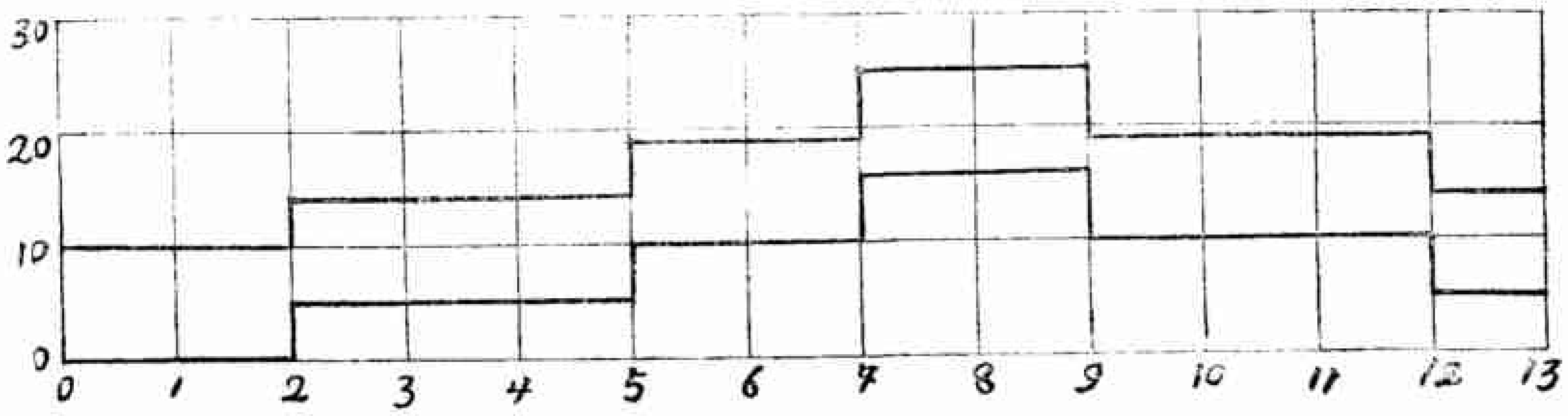
不過這種校改，在事實上是不可能的，因爲在推斷時，我們並沒有把各段的長短正確量過，又如何能把它的正確的比例數畫在圖中，至多也不過約略校正一些就是了。甲二推斷法最大的缺點，就在這上面。

15) 同樣，依乙一推斷法所得顫動數，畫成第十六圖。圖中有兩條曲折線，下一線依據第三表第四行之“顫動數(甲)”，上一線依據第六行之“顫動數(乙)”。



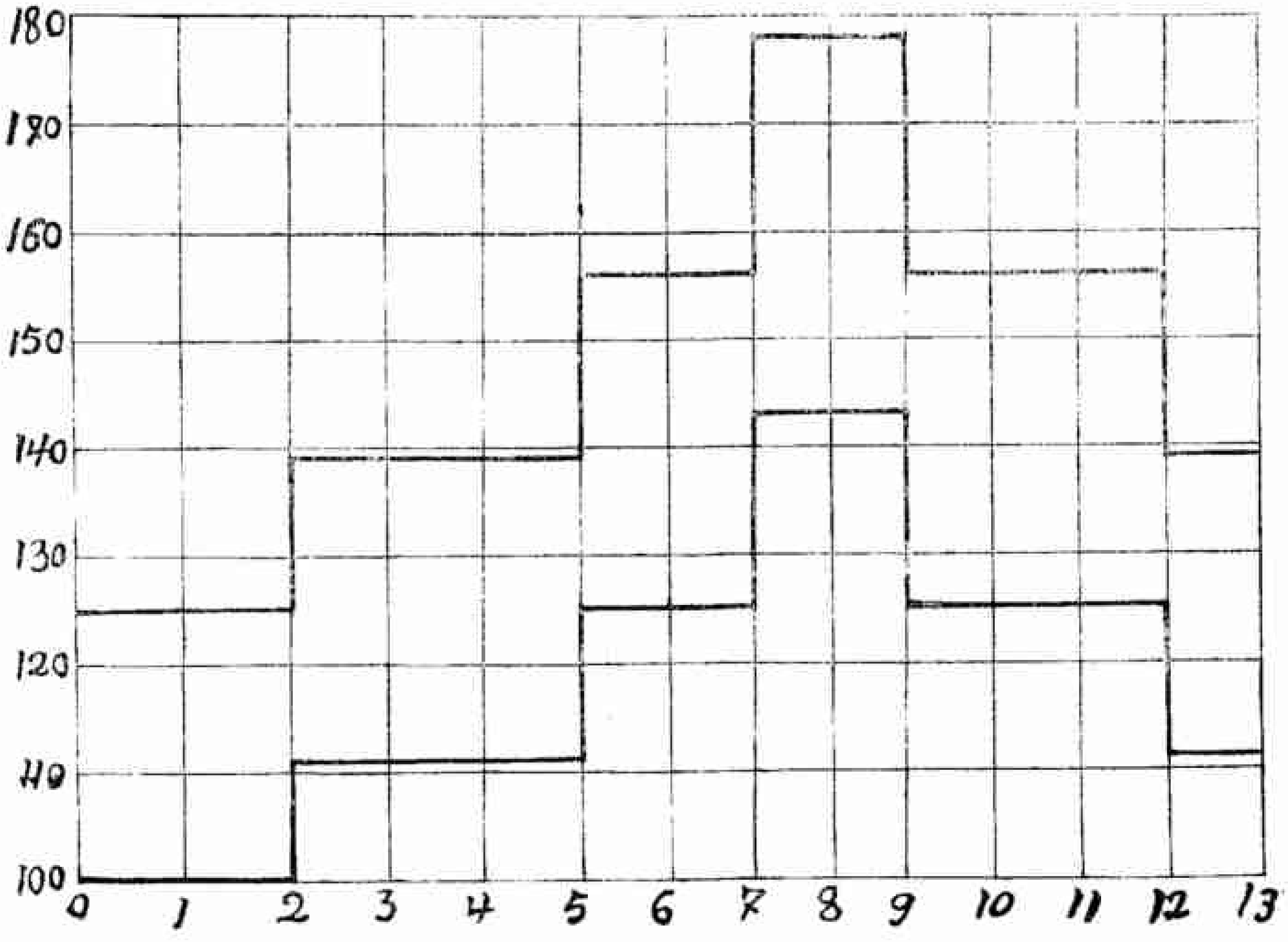
第十六圖

若用其對數，則得第十七圖。圖中下一曲折線依據表中第三行的“反對數”，或第五行的“對數(甲)”，上一曲折線依據第七行的“對數(乙)”。

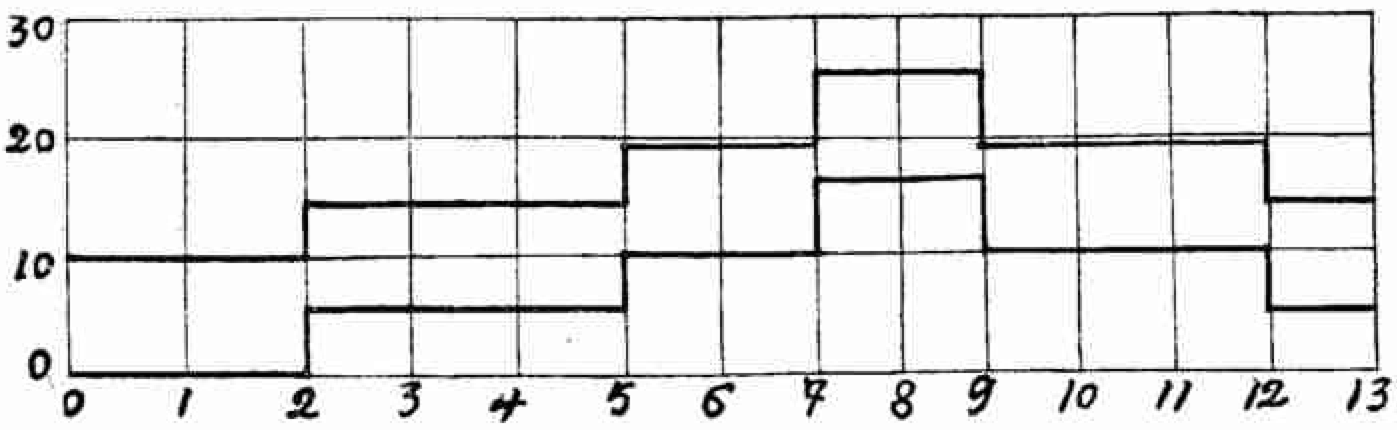


第十七圖

若依前節所說，加以校正，則第十六圖應改爲第十八圖，第十七圖應改爲第十九圖。



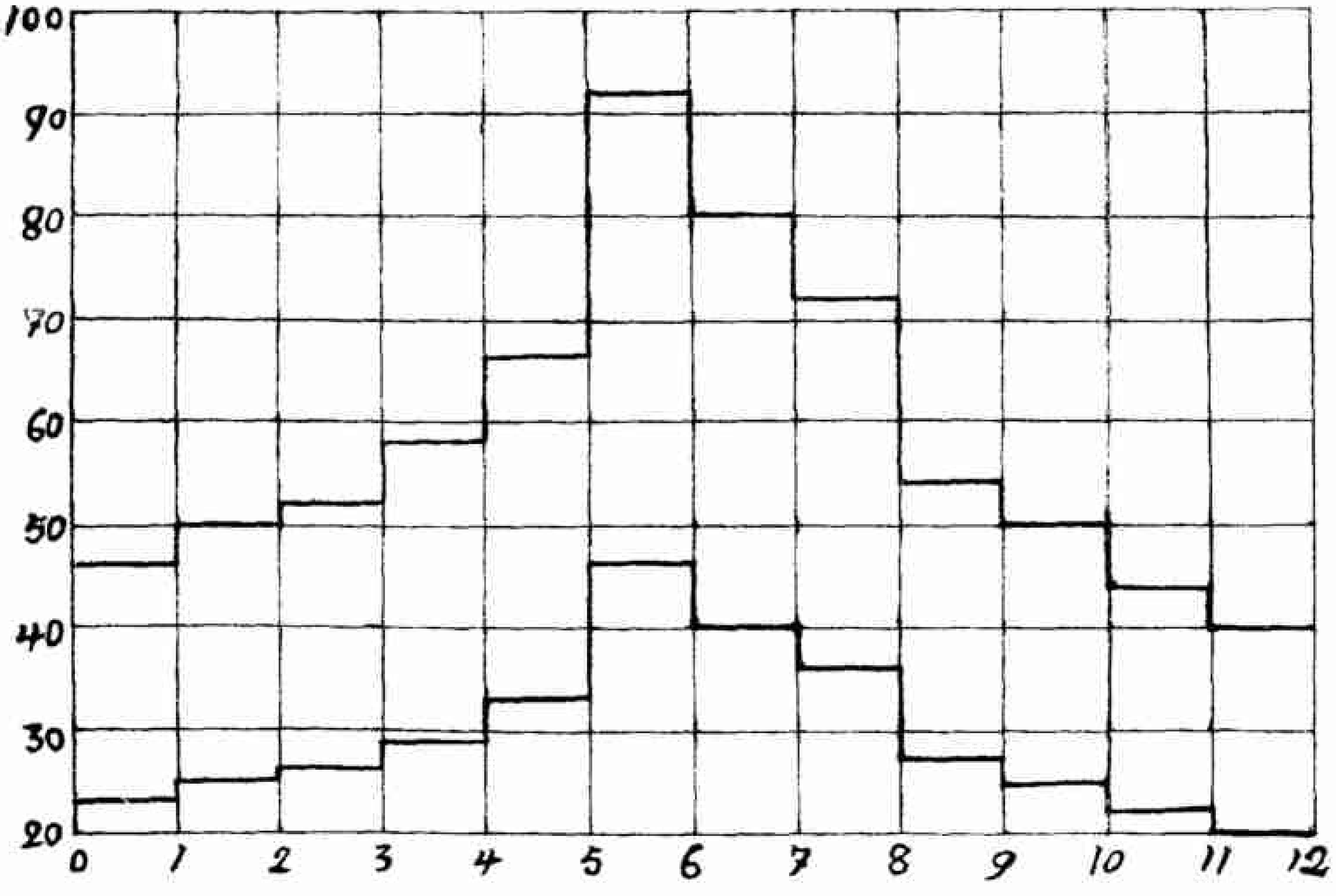
第十八圖



第十九圖

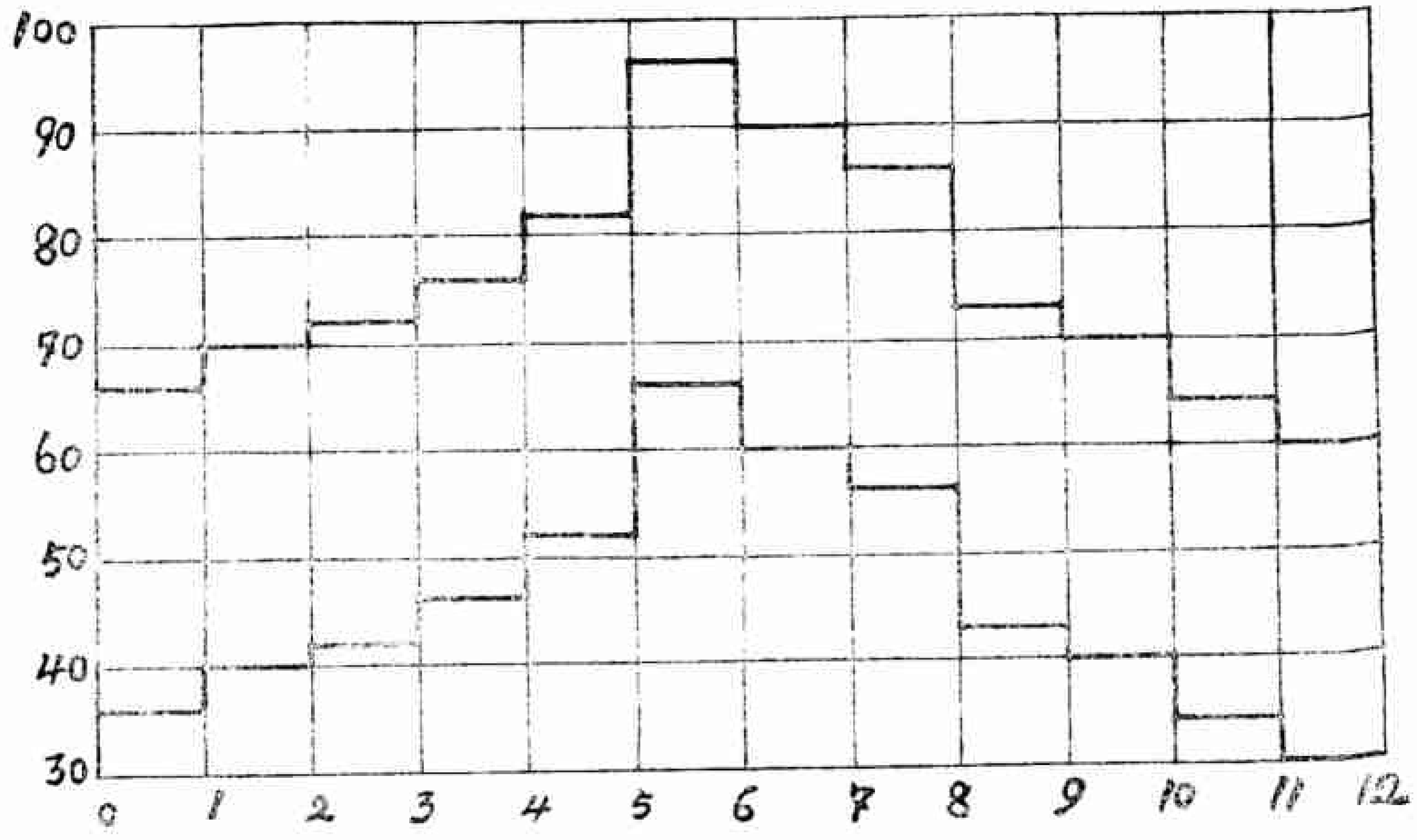
我們在推斷時，已經量得各段(即各顫動)的長度，所以在校正時，無論是直接依據長度，或者是依據長度的比例數，照理說，都應當是很容易的。可是，我們現在所畫的圖，因為要表示得明顯起見，所以在橫的方面，把 10mm. 代表一段（就本節言，則為一顫動）。若在實際工作上也是如此，則一秒鐘的語音，畫出圖來要有1000mm.或 1250mm. 長，那是絕對不能適用的。實際工作上所畫的圖，大約以 150mm. 至 200mm. 代表一秒鐘為最相宜。而浪線計上烟薰紙行走的速率，就試驗音高而論，也以一秒鐘行走 150mm. 至 200mm. 為最好。所以，畫圖時，圖面各顫動之長，最好就用烟薰紙上各顫動之原長。而烟薰紙上各顫動之原長，用玻璃小尺去量到 $\frac{1}{10}$mm.的精密是容易的，要依據玻璃小尺之所量，還畫到紙上去，仍有 $\frac{1}{10}$的精密，那就是一般人所萬難做到的。我們畫圖時，要求 1mm. 的精密是容易的，要求 $\frac{1}{2}$mm.的精密就得十分用心，要求 $\frac{1}{3}$或 $\frac{1}{4}$mm.的精密就很困難，不要再說以下的 $\frac{1}{5}$或$\frac{1}{10}$3。所以，這乙一推斷法的長度校正，終於是不能十分精密的。

16) 依乙二推斷法所得"顫動比"(第四表第一行)及"顫動數"(第三行)，可以畫成第二十圖中的兩條曲折線(下一條為"顫動比"之十倍"，上一條為"顫動數")。



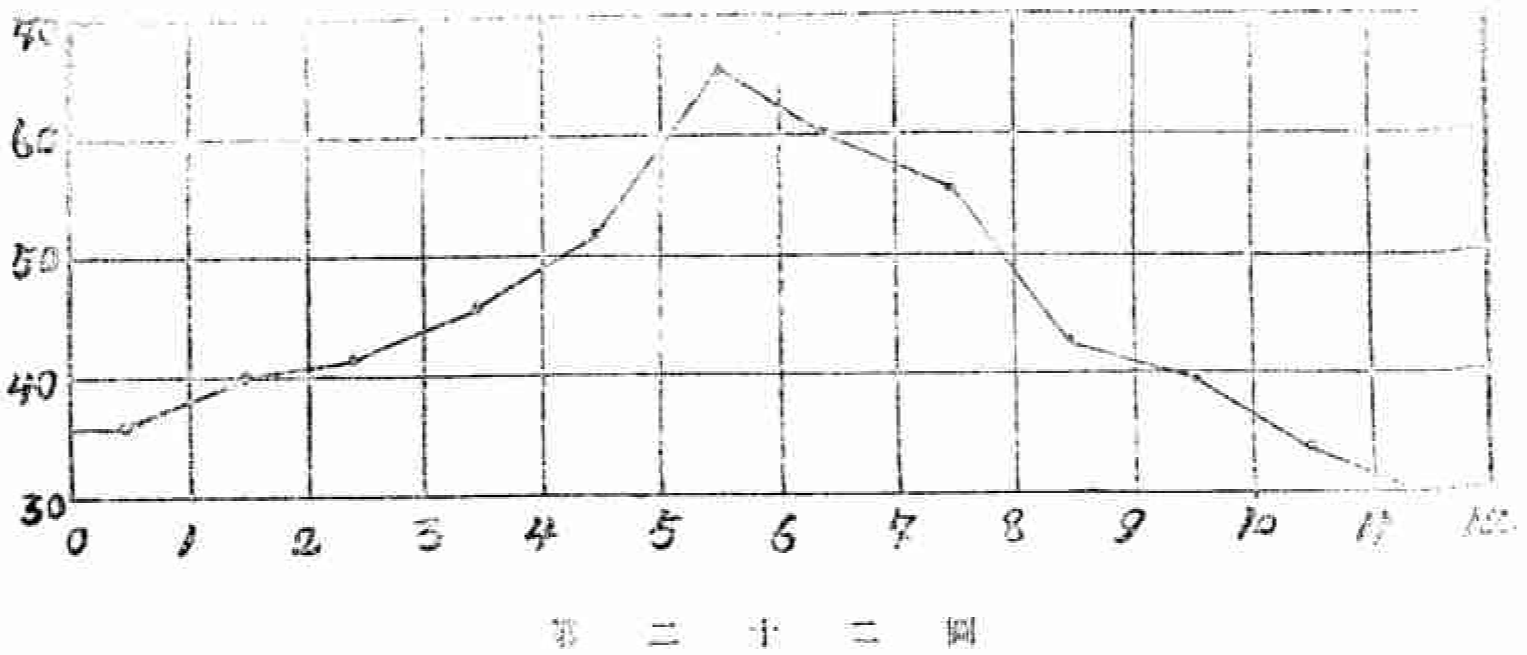
第　二　十　圖

若用其對數，則得第二十一圖。（下一條曲折線爲第二行顫動比之對數，上一條爲第四行顫動數之對數。）



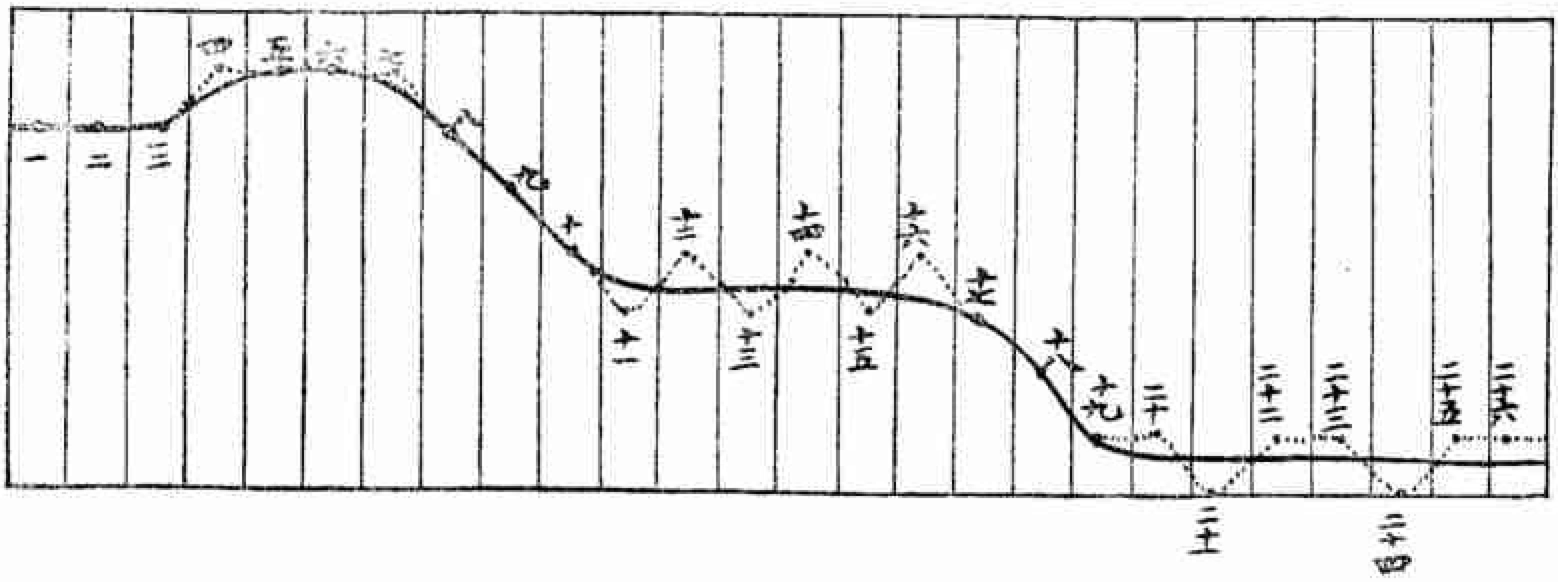
第　二　十　一　圖

17）以上所作各圖，都是在每一段中畫一條水平線，畫完之後，用垂直線聯絡；所以畫成的曲折線，是階級形的。這是爲表顯得明白起見，所以如此。在實際的工作上，應當用小點替代水平線，再用斜線聯絡各小點，成爲一條不規則的曲折線。如第二十一圖中下面的一條曲折線，應變爲第二十二圖中的一條曲折線。



第　二　十　二　圖

但是，語音的起落，照我們耳朵裏所聽見的說，是向上或向下逐漸移滑，並不是向上或向下跳動。所以若要使所畫的圖符合於我們耳朵中所得到的印象，那就應當畫成曲線，不應當畫成曲折線。如第二十三圖，中間有二十六個點（實際畫圖時，點子應當畫得極細，而且全圖畫成之後，應將點子擦去；今爲表示明白起見，特將點子畫大；後同），我們可以用畫自在畫（free-hand drawing）的方法，作成一條曲線（圖中的實線）；若依第二十二圖的方法，則如圖中虛線之所示，四七兩點處應有兩個角，十一至十六各點處，又二十至二十六各點處，應畫成上下交錯的犬齒形，這就和我們耳朵中所得到的語音的印象不符了。



第　二　十　三　圖

但是，所謂用畫自在畫的筆法畫曲線，却並不是信筆一揮，只是不用直尺或曲線板罷了。畫這條曲線時，應當有很仔細的斟酌，如圖中一二三三點，是規則的平進，自然就畫一條水平線，通過各線；四五六七四點也是規則的平進，但因要免除兩只角，故曲線只能通過五七兩點，而在四七兩點處略略通融；八九十三點是規則的下降，以曲線通過之；十至十七諸點，均是上下交互，故將曲線在其中央處經過；十七十八十九三點是規則的下降，以曲線通過之；十九至二十六各點，又是上下交互，但上方密而下方稀，故曲線所經過之地，偏於上方。這一個圖裡的各點，比較還是規則的，所以畫起曲線來，並不覺得困難；有時碰到很不規則的點，畫曲線時必須先用鉛筆起草，再三斟酌改正之後，才可以用墨筆畫定。

但圖面上的點子何以能有不規則的現象呢？這裏面的原因，雖然也有許多人揣測

過，但直到現在，還不曾有一種强有力的斷定。將來我打算在這上面作一種專門實驗，希望能有相當的結果，現在且不將靠不住的假定預先說出。

實際工作之一例

18〕 前文雖然提起"實際工作"這四個字，但就全體而論，只是把各種推斷法的輪廓大畧說出；當眞要做實際工作，就決不能如此簡單。例如從一九二一年到一九二五年，我在巴黎作漢語字聲實驗錄一書時，所採用的方法是乙一法。單就量出各顫動的長度，和基於各顫動的長度以推出各顫動在一秒鐘以內的顫動數而論，其方法亦不外乎前文第10節之所說。說到作圖，却就和第15節裡所說的有些兩樣了。

我作圖時，所用的也是1mm.的方格紙，而且當然也是把直的方面代表音高的起落，把橫的方面代表時間的進行。

圖有大小兩種，就大的說，是在直的方面，以每 10mm. 代表"等律音階"(gamme tempérée) 中的一個"全音"，以5mm.代表一個半音，以1mm.代表一個半音的五分之一，即五個"米里沙法爾"(milli-savarts)。

19〕 基於這種計劃，我就造成了兩張表。

第五表中，DT 一項，是各半音的名目，從 $C_0=32.3$ 顫動起，到 $A_3=435$ 顫動止，中間包有 $3\frac{10}{12}$ "協" (octaves)，就一般的語音(男人的或女人的)而論，已經大致够用的了。

VD 項是各半音的顫動數。

L 項是各半音的顫動數的對數，即 $\log 435=2.6385$；$\log 410.6=2.6134$。

D 項是對數與對數間的差，即 $2.6385-2.6134=0.0251$；$2.6134-2.5883=0.0251$。

d 項是對數差的五分之一，即 $\frac{0.0251}{5}=0.00502$。

第六表是依據第五表造成的，其造法如下：

$2.6385=\log 435.0=A_3$，

$2.6385-0.00502=2.6335=\log 430.0$，

$2.6335-0.00502=2.6285=\log 425.1$，

$2.6285-0.00502=2.6234=\log 420.2$，

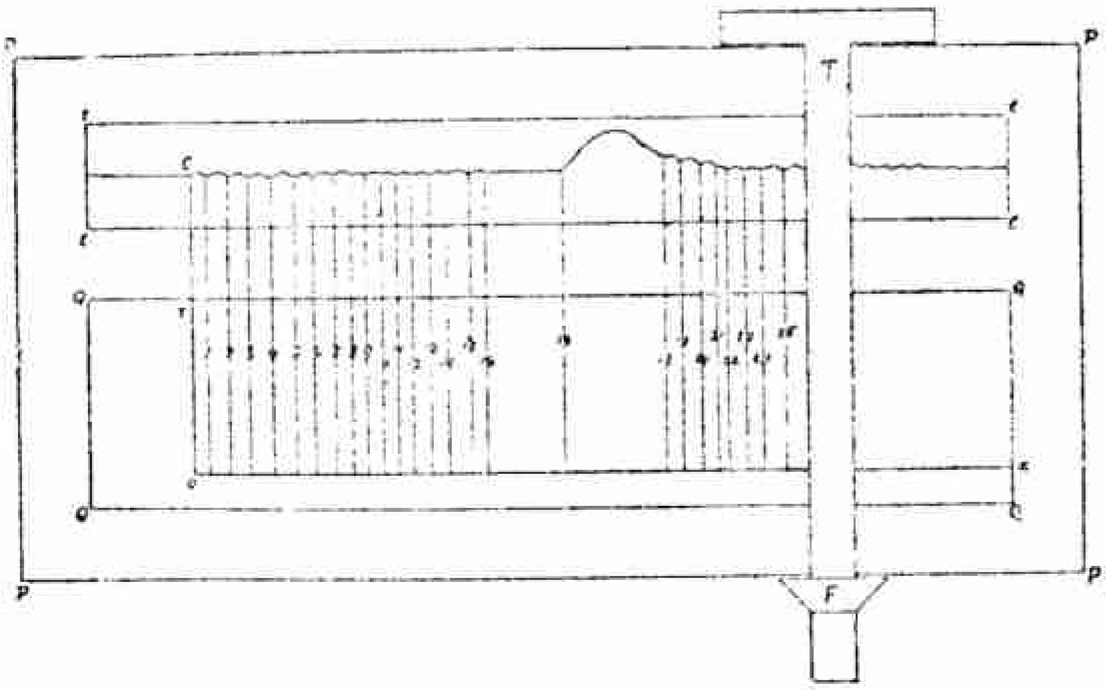
$2.6234-0.00502=2.6184=\log 415.4$，

$2.6184-0.00502=2.6134=\log 410.6=G\#_3$。

這第六表造成之後，作圖時，就可以不必求各顫動的顫動數的對數了。例如有某一顫動，其顫動數爲 185，只須在假定爲 $F\#_2=182.9$ 的一條線的上面一條線上作一個點；若爲 187，使在上一線；若爲 186，則在兩線之間。

這是就大的一種圖說。就小的一種圖說，則以 5mm. 代表一個全音，$2\frac{1}{2}$mm. 代表一個半音，1mm 代表 $\frac{2}{5}$半音，即十個米里沙法爾。（實際上小的一種圖比大的一種更適宜）。因此，在第六表中從 $C_0=32.3$ 起，每隔一行，使用肥體字印，使作小圖時，可以一目了然。如在方格紙上取某一橫線代表 $C_3=258.7$，則上一線便是 264.7，再上一線是 270.9，再上一線是 277.2，再上一線是 283.6，再上一線是 $290.3=D_3$。

20) 欲求各顫動之長度，也能在圖面上相當表顯出來，其法如第二十四圖。



第　二　十　四　圖

圖中 PPPP 是圖畫板；tttt 是煙熏紙，其中 C 是浪線的開端；QQQQ 是方格紙；T 是丁字尺；F 是將丁字尺喫緊在圖畫板上，使它不能斜動的一個小東西，名叫"定丁"(fixe T)；OY 是所畫的圖裡的縱軸(arcounée)，即表示高低的標準線；OX

第五表

DT.	VD.	L.	D.	d.
la$_3$	435,0	2,6385	0,0251	0,00502
sol$_3$♯	410,6	2,6134	0,0251	0,00502
sol$_3$	387,5	2,5883	0,0250	0,00500
fa$_3$♯	365,8	2,5633	0,0251	0,00502
fa$_3$	345,3	2,5382	0,0251	0,00502
mi$_3$	325,9	2,5131	0,0251	0,00502
ré$_3$♯	307,6	2,4880	0,0252	0,00504
ré$_3$	290,3	2,4628	0,0250	0,00500
ut$_3$♯	274,0	2,4378	0,0250	0,00500
ut$_3$	258,7	2,4128	0,0252	0,00504
si$_2$	244,1	2,3876	0,0252	0,00504
la$_2$♯	230,4	2,3624	0,0249	0,00498
la$_2$	217,5	2,3373	0,0251	0,00502
sol$_2$♯	205,3	2,3124	0,0250	0,00500
sol$_2$	193,8	2,2874	0,0252	0,00504
fa$_2$♯	182,9	2,2622	0,0257	0,00504
fa$_2$	172,6	2,2370	0,0251	0,00502
mi$_2$	162,9	2,2119	0,0250	0,00500
ré$_2$♯	153,8	2,1869	0,0249	0,00498
ré$_2$	145,2	2,1620	0,0253	0,00506
ut$_2$♯	137,0	2,1367	0,0251	0,00502
ut$_2$	129,3	2,1116	0,0249	0,00498

第五表（續）

DT.	VD.	L.	D.	d.
si$_1$	122,1	2,0867	0,0252	0,00504
la$_1$♯	115,2	2,0615	0,0248	0,00496
la$_1$	108,8	2,0367	0,0252	0,00504
sol$_1$♯	102,7	2,0115	0,0252	0,00504
sol$_1$	96,9	1,9863	0,0249	0,00498
fa$_1$♯	91,5	1,9614	0,0254	0,00508
fa$_1$	36,3	1,9360	0,0248	0,00496
mi$_1$	81,5	1,9112	0,0253	0,00506
ré$_1$♯	76,9	1,8859	0,0250	0,00500
ré$_1$	72,6	1,8609	0,0252	0,00504
ut$_1$♯	68,5	1,8357	0,0248	0,00496
ut$_1$	64,7	1,8109	0,0256	0,00512
si$_0$	61,0	1,7853	0,0249	0,00498
la$_0$♯	57,6	1,7604	0,0248	0,00496
la$_0$	54,4	1,7356	0,0255	0,00510
sol$_0$♯	51,3	1,7101	0,0253	0,00506
sol$_0$	48,4	1,6848	0,0249	0,00498
fa$_0$♯	45,7	1,6599	0,0244	0,00488
fa$_0$	43,2	1,6355	0,0259	0,00518
mi$_0$	40,7	1,6096	0,0241	0,00482
ré$_0$♯	38,5	1,5855	0,0256	0,00512
ré$_0$	30,3	1,5599	0,0246	0,00492
ut$_0$♯	34,3	1,5353	0,0261	0,00522
ut$_0$	32,3	1,5092		

DT.	V.	L.
la$_3$	435,0	2,6385
	430,0	2,6335
	425,1	2,6285
	420,2	2,6234
	415,4	2,6184
sol$_3$♯	410,6	2,6134
	405,9	2,6084
	401,3	2,6034
	396,6	2,5983
	392,0	2,5933
sol$_3$	387,5	2,5883
	383,1	2,5833
	378,7	2,5783
	374,4	2,5733
	370,1	2,5683
fa$_3$♯	365,8	2,5633
	361,6	2,5583
	357,5	2,5533
	353,4	2,5482
	349,3	2,5432
fa$_3$	345,3	2,5382
	341,4	2,5332
	337,5	2,5282
	333,5	2,5231
	329,7	2,5181
mi$_3$	325,9	2,5131
	322,1	2,5081
	318,4	2,5030
	314,8	2,4980
	311,2	2,4930
ré$_3$♯	307,6	2,4880
	304,1	2,4830
	300,5	2,4779

DT.	V.	L.
	297,1	2,4729
	293,6	2,4678
ré$_3$	290,3	2,4628
	286,9	2,4578
	283,6	2,4528
	280,4	2,4478
	277,2	2,4428
ut$_3$♯	274,0	2,4378
	270,9	2,4328
	267,8	2,4278
	264,7	2,4228
	261,7	2,4178
ut$_3$	258,7	2,4128
	255,8	2,4078
	252,7	2,4027
	249,9	2,3977
	246,9	2,3926
si$_2$	244,1	2,3876
	241,4	2,3827
	238,5	2,3775
	235,8	2,3723
	233,0	2,3674
la$_2$♯	230,4	2,3624
	227,7	2,3574
	225,1	2,3524
	222,6	2,3475
	220,3	2,3425
la$_2$	217,5	2,3375
	215,0	2,3325
	212,5	2,3275
	210,1	2,3224
	207,7	2,3174

DT.	V.	L.
sol$_2$♯	205,3	2,3124
	203,0	2,3074
	200,6	2,3024
	198,4	2,2974
	196,1	2,2924
sol$_2$	193,8	2,2874
	191,6	2,2824
	189,3	2,2773
	187,2	2,2723
	185,0	2,2672
fa$_2$♯	182,9	2,2622
	180,8	2,2572
	178,6	2,2521
	176,6	2,2471
	174,6	2,2420
fa$_2$	172,6	2,2370
	170,6	2,2320
	168,7	2,2270
	166,6	2,2219
	164,7	2,2169
mi$_2$	162,9	2,2119
	161,0	2,2069
	159,2	2,2019
	157,3	2,1969
	155,5	2,1919
ré$_2$♯	153,8	2,1869
	152,0	2,1819
	150,3	2,1769
	148,6	2,1720
	146,9	2,1670
ré$_2$	145,2	2,1620
	143,5	2,1569
	141,9	2,1519

DT.	V.	L.
	140,3	2,1468
	138,7	2,1418
ut$_2$♯	137,0	2,1367
	135,4	2,1317
	133,9	2,1267
	132,3	2,1216
	130,8	2,1166
ut$_2$	129,3	2,1116
	127,8	2,1066
	126,4	2,1016
	124,9	2,0967
	123,5	2,0917
si$_1$	122,1	2,0867
	120,7	2,0817
	119,3	2,0766
	118,0	2,0716
	116,5	2,0665
la$_1$♯	115,2	2,0615
	113,9	2,0565
	112,7	2,0516
	111,4	2,0466
	110,1	2,0417
la$_1$	108,8	2,0367
	107,6	2,0317
	106,3	2,0266
	105,1	2,0216
	103,9	2,0165
sol$_1$♯	102,7	2,0115
	101,5	2,0065
	100,3	2,0014
	99,2	1,9964
	98,0	1,9913

DT.	V.	L.
sol$_1$	96,9	1,9863
	95,8	1,9813
	94,7	1,9763
	93,6	1,9714
	92,6	1,9664
fa$_1$♯	91,5	1,9614
	90,4	1,9563
	89,4	1,9512
	88,4	1,9462
	87,3	1,9411
fa$_1$	86,3	1,9360
	85,3	1,9310
	84,5	1,9261
	83,4	1,9211
	82,5	1,9162
mi$_1$	81,5	1,9112
	80,6	1,9061
	79,6	1,9011
	78,7	1,8960
	77,8	1,8910
ré$_1$♯	76,9	1,8859
	76,0	1,8809
	75,2	1,8759
	74,3	1,8709
	73,4	1,8659
ré$_1$	72,6	1,8609
	71,8	1,8559
	70,9	1,8508
	70,1	1,8458
	69,3	1,8407
ut$_1$♯	68,5	1,8357
	67,7	1,8307
	67,0	1,8258

DT.	V.	L.
	66,2	1,8208
	65,5	1,8159
ut$_1$	64,7	1,8109
	64,0	1,8058
	63,2	1,8007
	62,3	1,7955
	61,7	1,7904
si$_0$	61,0	1,7853
	60,3	1,7803
	59,6	1,7753
	58,9	1,7704
	58,3	1,7654
la$_0$♯	57,6	1,7604
	56,9	1,7554
	56,3	1,7505
	55,7	1,7455
	55,0	1,7406
la$_0$	54,4	1,7356
	53,8	1,7305
	53,1	1,7254
	52,5	1,7203
	51,9	1,7152
sol$_0$♯	51,3	1,7101
	50,7	1,7050
	50,1	1,7000
	49,5	1,6949
	49,0	1,6899
sol$_0$	48,4	1,6848
	47,8	1,6798
	47,3	1,6748
	46,8	1,6699
	46,2	1,6649

DT.	V.	L.
fa$_0$♯	45,7	1,6599
	45,2	1,6550
	44,7	1,6501
	44,2	1,6453
	43,7	1,6404
fa$_0$	43,2	1,6355
	42,7	1,6303
	42,2	1,6251
	41,7	1,6200
	41,2	1,6148
mi$_0$	40,7	1,6096
	40,3	1,6048
	39,8	1,6000
	39,4	1,5951
	38,9	1,5903
ré$_0$♯	38,5	1,5855
	38,1	1,5804
	37,6	1,5753
	37,2	1,5701
	36,7	1,5650
ré$_0$	36,3	1,5599
	35,9	1,5550
	35,5	1,5501
	35,1	1,5451
	34,7	1,5402
ut$_0$♯	34,3	1,5355
	33,9	1,5301
	33,5	1,5249
	33,1	1,5196
	32,7	1,5144
ut$_0$	32,3	1,5092

第六表

是底座 (abscisse) 即表示時間的標準線。作圖時，先將烟薰紙與方格紙配置好，使 C 點與 OY 線正對，然後借着丁字尺的幫助，以浪線中每一顫動之界點爲標準，畫成 1，2，3，4，……等平行線，與 OY 平行，與 OX 正交。（應先用此法畫好各平行線，然後依前節所說之法，定各顫動的高低點。）

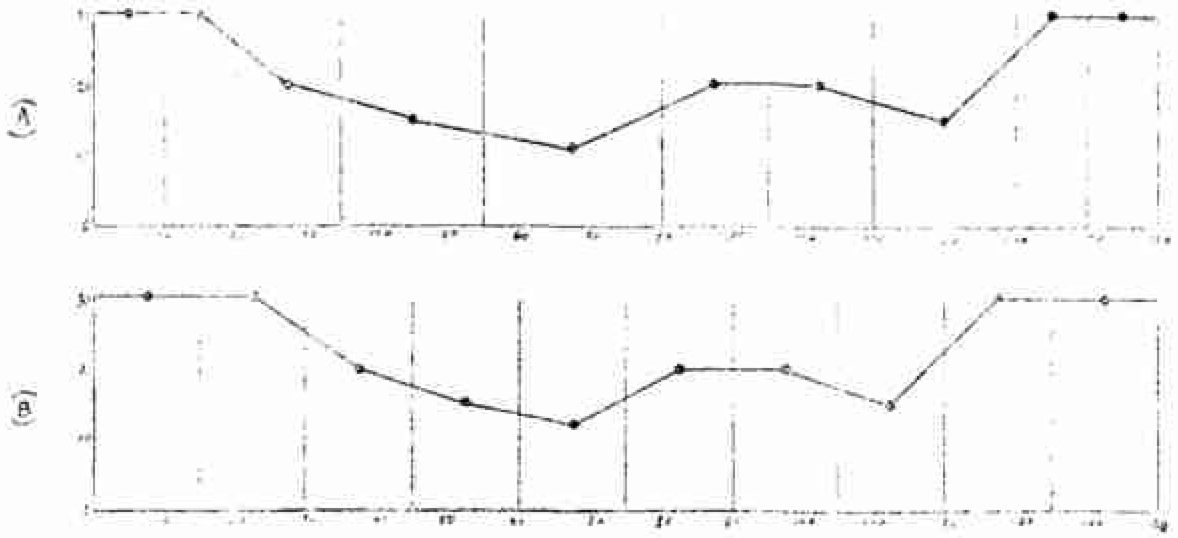
用這種方法定各顫動的長度，當然不能十分正確的，因爲肉眼的精密度，當然不能到十分之一mm.。例如有一個顫動，其長度爲 2.4mm.，畫到圖上，或者變成了 2.3，2.2.，或者變成了 2.5，2.6；但就全圖而論，用了這方法，總可以在長度上有相當的補正。譬如有十個顫動，其長度之比爲：

10　10　15　20　25　15　15　20　10　10

其顫動之數比爲：

30　30　20　15　12　20　20　15　30　30

若用此法，即有相當的錯誤，所得曲線的總體，總與第二十五圖中的 (A) 相差不多；若用一般不注意這一點的人的方法，把各顫動看作一樣長，所得結果應是圖中的 (B)，那就錯得太多了。



第　二　十　五　圖

21) 一個實例：如江世義君所說安徽旌德方言中一個"凍"字，其有七十六個顫動，各顫動的長度及顫動數，如第七表。（烟薰紙每秒鐘行走 100mm.，以各顫動的長度除之，得顫動數。）

	L.	V.D.		L.	V.D.		L.	V.D.		L.	V.D.
1	20	95	20	21	91	39	18	106	58	18	106
2	16	119	21	21	91	40	21	91	59	17	112
3	18	106	22	22	87	41	19	101	60	18	106
4	17	112	23	22	87	42	19	101	61	18	106
5	19	101	24	21	91	43	19	101	62	18	106
6	19	101	25	21	91	44	19	101	63	18	106
7	18	106	26	21	91	45	18	106	64	16	119
8	19	101	27	20	95	46	19	101	65	18	106
9	19	101	28	22	87	47	19	101	66	18	112
10	19	101	29	22	87	48	18	106	67	17	112
11	19	101	30	21	91	49	17	112	68	17	112
12	19	101	31	19	101	50	19	101	69	16	119
13	19	101	32	21	91	51	19	101	70	17	112
14	20	95	33	21	91	52	17	112	71	17	112
15	19	101	34	21	91	53	18	106	72	17	112
16	21	91	35	20	95	54	18	106	73	17	112
17	20	95	36	20	95	55	18	106	74	18	106
18	20	95	37	20	95	56	18	106	75	18	106
19	21	91	38	20	95	57	18	106	76	18	106

第　七　表

依法作圖，其情現如第二十六圖。（此圖原是本段內下容太少無法排入故移置155面 校者註）圖中第一條線是由確定音叉的浪線，每五十浪為第一秒（此與作圖無關，只是便圖中，只作參考之用。）第二條線為同一字聲的浪線；下面是用方格紙所畫成的圖，以2mm.代表一個全音，1mm代表一個半音。

聲　調　推　斷　尺

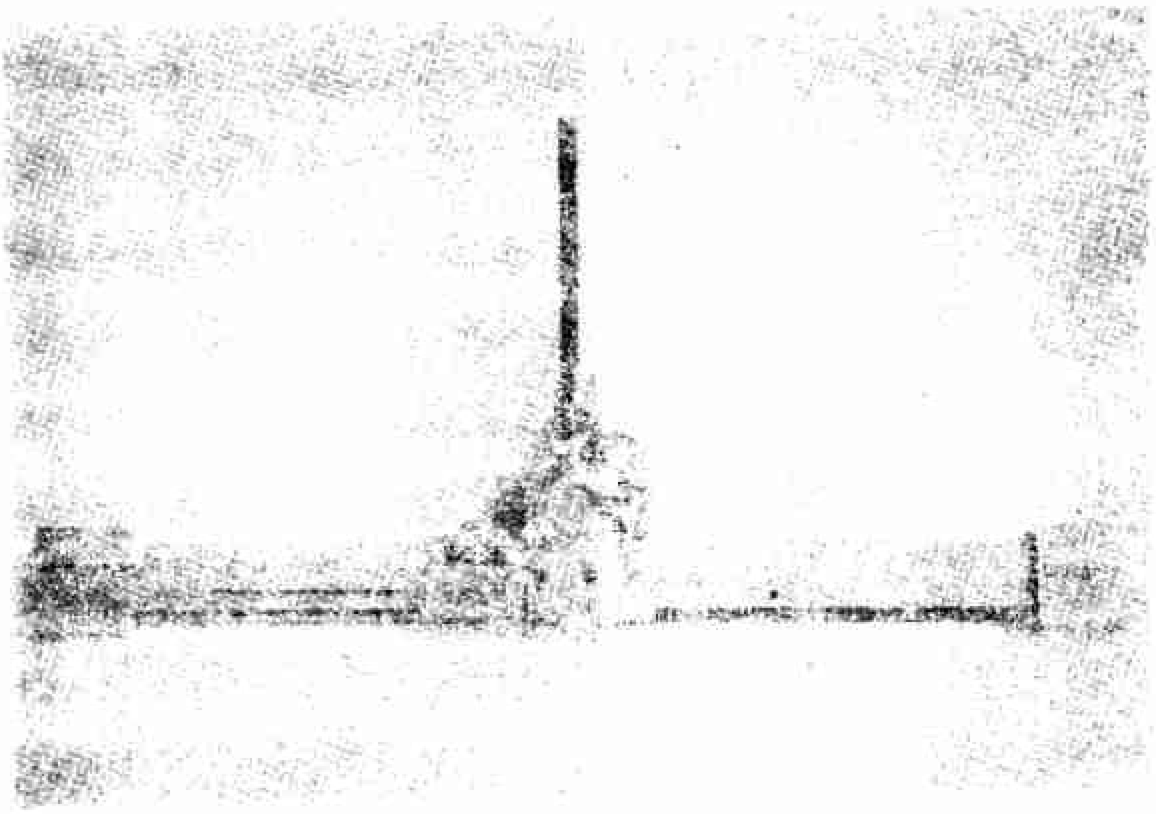
22. 如上文所述，可見推斷聲調，在理論上並沒有什麼不容易難於明瞭處，只是工作異常煩苦，一般人都沒有耐心做。即使碰到了有耐心的人，也要把很豐富的時間給了他，才可以希望有相當的成績。而且，這種工作做得太多了，在生理上也很不相宜：很好的眼睛可以變成近視，有可以變壞，又因兩頭看的時候太久，腦量愈變愈小，很容易引起腦病。我因為省簡一些說話字等類的繁難，用乙一法（比較最精密而工作最

[illegible]

頗苦的一種）工作了數年，雖然沒有鬧成病（但彎腰曲背，已彰彰在人耳目！），而花了多量的時間，所得結果如此之少，回想起來，總不得不認爲生平第一最不上算事。

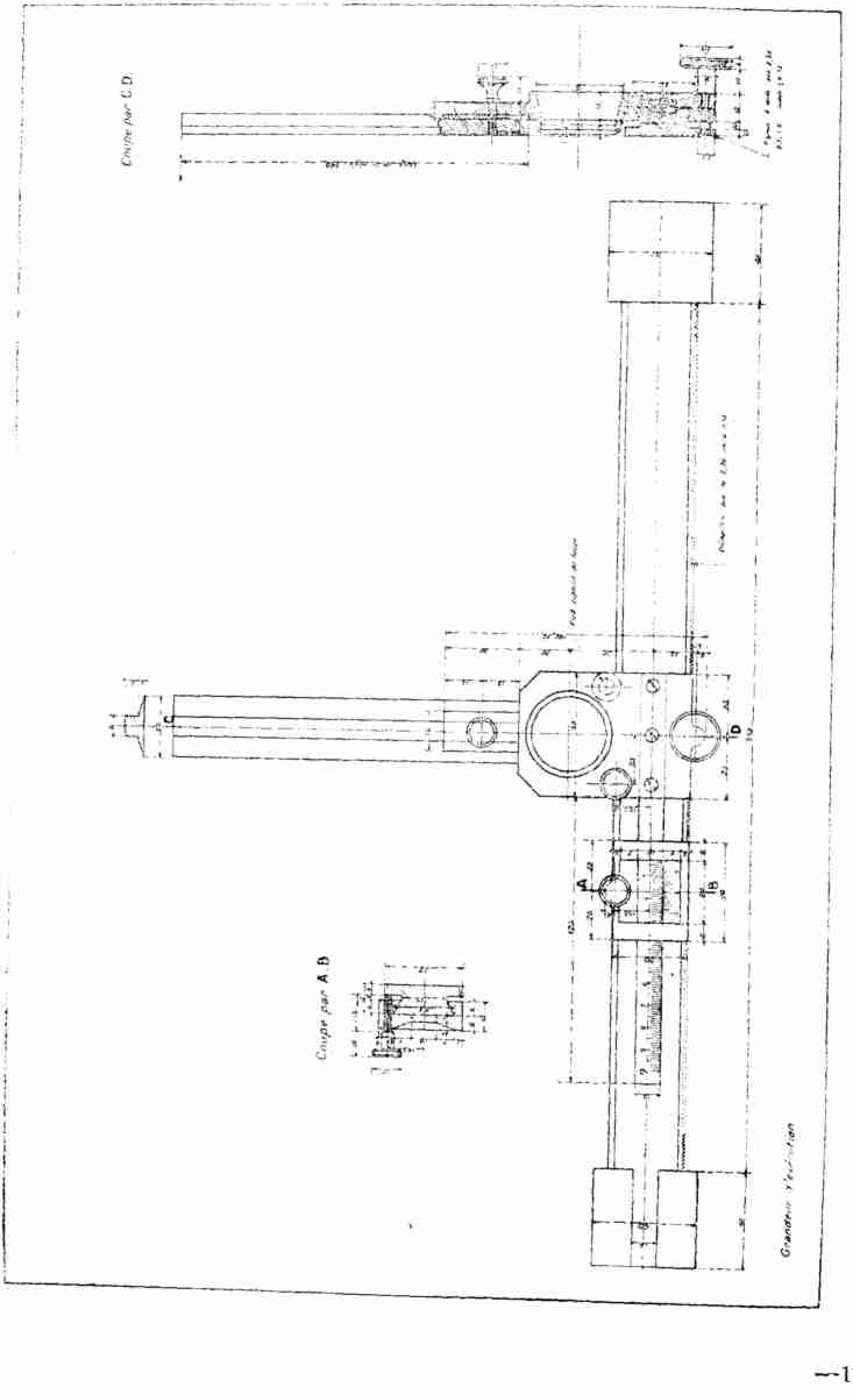
我的"聲調推算尺"，就是做了數年苦工之後設計製造起來的。製造完成時，先在字聲實驗錄的附錄中將大概情形發表過；因爲當時想不到適當的名稱，所以就用我自己的姓，稱爲"Lingraphe"（趙元任戲譯爲"劉氏尺"）。現在覺得"聲調推斷尺"五個字還很妥當，那個舊名字可以取消了。

23〕 第二十七圖是製造此尺的設計，第二十八圖是製造完成以後的攝影。

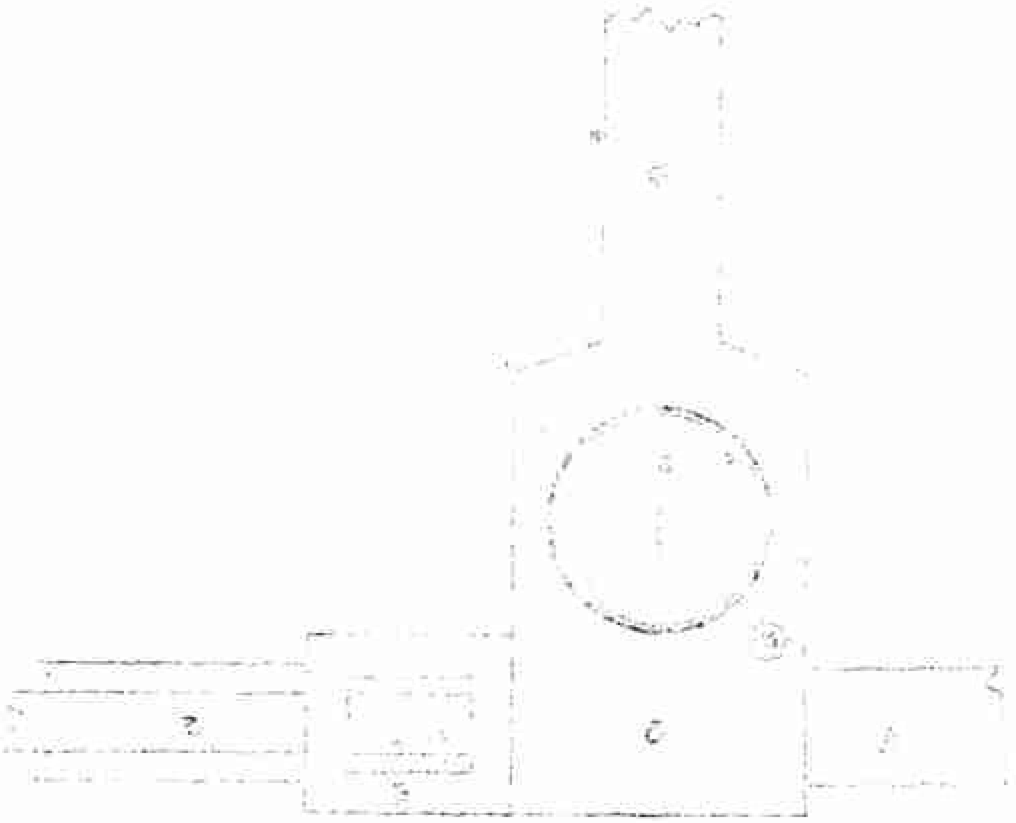


第　二　十　八　圖

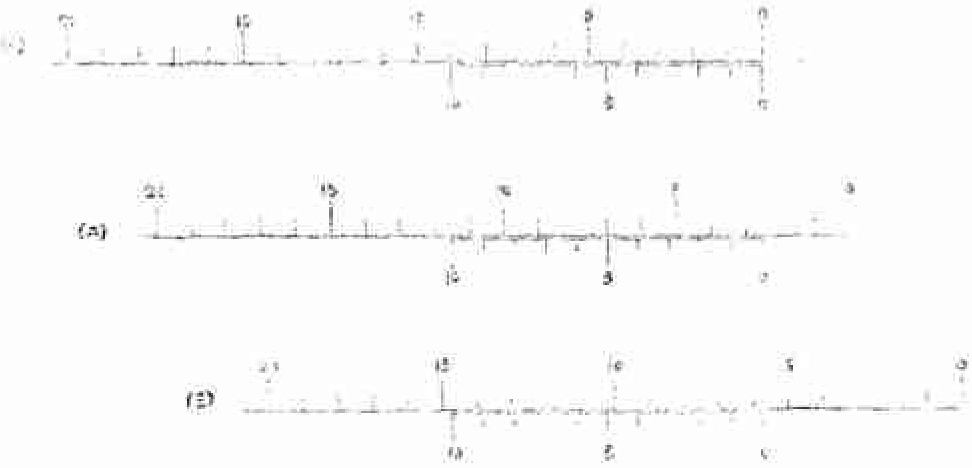
欲明瞭其用法，可看第二十九圖（此圖只求表明各部分之作用，其比例與原器不合；後文第三十二圖亦然）。圖中有一定尺(A)，兩活尺(B與C)。定尺A是沒有什麼作用的，只是做一個架子，使B，C兩活尺可以架在上面左右移動；同時有相當的重量，可以使全器固定在紙面上。B尺是一個方形的框子。C尺是一個矩形的東西，其上有兩支：甲支垂直，乙支水平（即甲支與定尺A正交，乙支與之平行）。甲支之X邊作對數刻度，略如第三十圖（此圖只略示大概，原器所刻線紋，係按四位對數表算出，用顯微鏡刻度機刻成）。乙支通過活尺B的方框，其上下兩邊，與方框的上下兩



第二十七圖



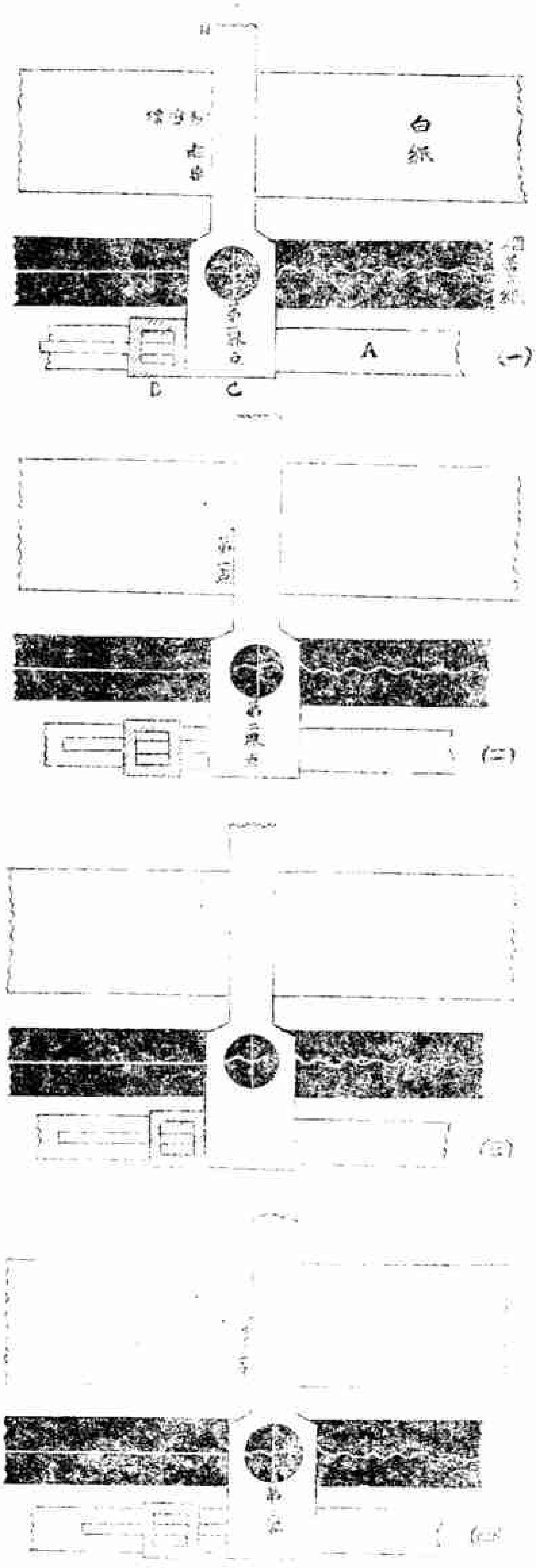
第二十九圖



第三十一圖

第三十圖

內邊相密切。自乙支下邊的X點起，向左(如矢印所示)依普通米突尺的方法，從0刻至200mm.；卽於方匡的下內邊，與X相對之處，作一 vernier(V)。(Vernier 是一個附麗於大尺的小尺。如第三十一圖(一)，上方從0刻至20的是大尺，下方從0刻至10的是小尺。小尺上的0至10，相當於大尺上的0至9，所以小尺中的1，等於大尺中的0.9。這大小二尺，必定有一個是固定的，一個是活動的。假如大尺是活動的，小尺是固定的，則在本圖(一)的時候，兩尺的0在同一直線上，小尺的10也正對着大尺中的某一線，就可見大尺還並沒有移



第十二圖

動；在本圖(二)的時候，小尺的0已在大尺的2與3之間，小尺的5·正對着大尺的某一線(不管它是什麼線)，就是大尺已經向右移動了2.5單位3(如以mm.爲單位，則已移動2.5mm.)；在本圖(三)的時候，小尺的0在大尺的5與6之間，小尺的7，正對着大尺的某一處，就是大尺已經移動了5.7單位了。〕在A，B兩活尺相接觸的時候，即B尺的QP邊，與C尺的RP邊合成一條RQP直線的時候，X尺的0，與Vernier的0同在一條直線上(即第二十九圖中的狀况)。若兩個活尺中有一個移動了，其移動的多少，可以在X，V處看出。因爲X尺是依mm.刻的，Vernier是依$\frac{9}{10}$mm.做成的，所以結果能有$\frac{1}{10}$mm.的精密。FG是C尺上所開的一個圓孔，孔底鑲一塊玻璃；玻璃的下面，刻一條極細的紅線S；將尺放在紙上的時候，這S線與紙面密接。M處可以裝一個立柱，柱上裝一個廓大鏡(參觀第二十八圖)，用以看S線是否確在烟薰紙上的各顫動的界點上。

24) 應用此尺之法如第三十二圖(一)，先在圖畫板上鋪一張白紙，白紙之下方，放所要推斷的一張烟薰紙，均用圖畫釘釘定。於是將推斷尺放上，務使

(1) 定尺A，與烟薰紙上的浪線平行；

(2) 活尺C的甲支，大部分在白紙上；

(3) 浪線在活尺C的圓孔的中央；

(4) 圓孔玻璃下面所刻的紅線，正壓在浪線的第一界點上；

(5) B，C 兩活尺相密切。

這樣安排好了，就用鉛筆沿着活尺C的N邊，在白紙上畫一條線，叫做"起線"；隨在起線上作一個"標準點"。這標準點是依C_2=129.3算出的。假如烟薰紙每秒鐘行走189.1mm.，則$\frac{189.1}{129.3}$=1.46；當烟薰紙行走的速率是每秒189.1mm.的時候，C_2=129.3的每一顫動，應在紙上佔有1.46mm.的長度。於是，我們就在N邊上找到1.46的地位，在起線上作一個點，即標準點。

於是將活尺C漸漸向右移，直移到玻璃下面的紅線，正壓在浪線中的第二界點上，隨看活尺C的X，與活尺B的V相切處，數目是多少；假如是1.9，即於活尺C的N邊上，找到1.9的地位，用鉛筆在白紙上作一點，是爲"第一點"，如本圖之

(二)。

隨將活尺B向右移，使與活尺C相接觸，如本圖之(三)。

再將活尺C向右移，直移到紅線壓在第三界點上，看X，Y處數目是多少；假如是1.8，即於N邊1.8的地位，在白紙上作一點，是爲第三點。

如此推去，直推到末了一點爲止。

作末了一點之後，隨用鉛筆沿N邊畫一條線，是爲"終線"，更在終線上依1.46的地位，作一標準點。

依第17節所說，用畫自在畫的方法，畫成一條曲線，是爲音高起落線。

連結起線及終線上的兩標準點，作一直線，是爲"標準線"。

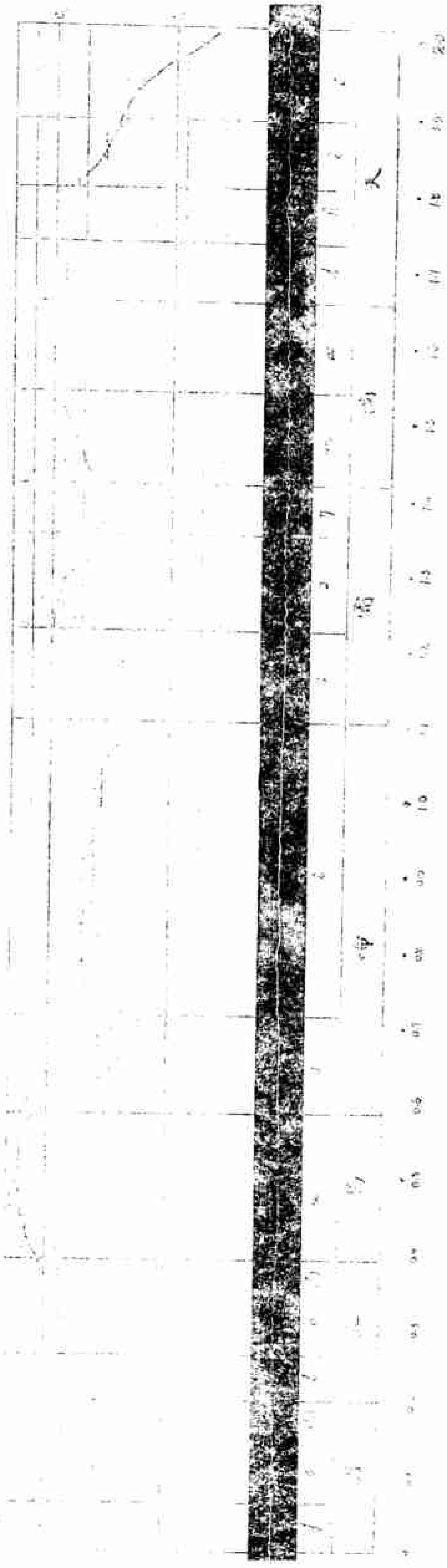
如第三十三圖，由標準線 C_2 向上或向下，凡音階中各音，相隔一全音者，則隔5mm. 作一平行線；相隔一半音者，則隔 $2\frac{1}{2}$mm. 作一平行線；凡遇 C 處，均用粗

第 三 十 三 圖

線，兩粗線之間爲一"協"，其距離爲30mm.（這是作音高起落圖最適當的比例，即第19節中所說的小的一種圖的比例；計算尺的N邊的刻數，是依此比例來定的）。

25. 第三十四圖是用推斷尺推斷我自己所讀"月落烏啼霜滿天"一句的聲調（是直讀式，不是吟誦式）的結果；圖中最上一行是音高的起落，其次是說音的浪線，再次是音素的分析，再次是標示時間的點子，每兩點間的距離，代表十分之一秒。

我作這一張圖，從開始推斷起，到畫完末了一筆止，通共用了三點五十三分鐘的



時間，連中間零碎的休息（吸烟喝茶等）， 也包括在內。若用乙一法，至少也得兩整天。

用推斷尺不但可以節省時間與勞力，而且所得結果，比任何推論法更精密，因為普通推斷法所得的結果，是經過了許多次的間接得來的（先量線來計算，再次求對數，再去作圖），每經過一次間接，就有增加一份錯誤的可能（如小數的捨去），用推斷尺，卻完全是直接的工作（一面量，一面就作圖），所以錯誤的成分，就減縮到了最小度了。又用普通推斷法作圖，只用兩位的對數，這推斷尺上的對數，卻用了四位，錯誤的成分就愈加少了。最重要的，就是前文14，20兩節中所說到的各顫動的長度問題，這問題在用甲二乙一兩法時，是無論如何不能正確解決的；盡人力之所及，只是多少校正一點；用推斷尺，卻可以使各顫動的長度，自然而然的（automatiquement）在紙面上正確表出，不必要我們重費一番勞苦而無謂的工夫。

（十八年二月五日寫訖。）

聲調之推斷及"聲調推斷尺"之製造與用法正誤

頁數	行數	原文	改正
133	7	諧剛稿的結果	諧調稿密的結果
138	末行	；	：
140	17	把這兩角片重合在對數	把這兩角片蒙在對數紙
		紙上	上
	末3行	$\frac{2}{10}+2+\frac{8}{10}=2.7$,	$\frac{2}{10}+2+\frac{5}{10}=2.7$,
141	1	顫動比第七位4.6	4.0
146	11	或$\frac{1}{10}$ 3	或$\frac{1}{10}$ 了
150	7	使在上一線	使再上一線
	14	欲求各顫動之長度,	欲求各顫動之長度
	14	其法如第二十四圖。	其法如第二十四圖:
	末行	ardounée	ordounée
152	1	(abscisse)	(abscisse),
160	2	移動了2.5單位3	移動了2.5單位了
	5	正對着大尺的某一處	正對着大尺的某一線
161	末3行	其次是說音的泛線	其次是諧音的泛線
163	3	比佐何	比任何
	4	光量線	光量線,
	5	錯謬	錯誤
	6	一面試作圖,	一面就作圖),

慧琳一切經音義反切聲類攷

黃淬伯

反切以上字定聲，同聲類字，即可彼此互切。故攷索一切經音義反切之聲類，裒輯其所注之反切上字，分別觀其所切，復爲何字，其同類者，必能系聯成貫也。比次其類，爲聲類考。

每類擇其共切之字，標爲某類之名。其有一類中，以等位不同，復分數系者，則擇其共切之字，舉爲一系之目，分繫大類之下。此與字母家用同聲類字爲字母名稱之意正同。

各類比次之法，依用今日語音學之著論，以各類發音之部位，分爲八組。曰舌根音，居、羌、渠、魚、呼、胡、六類屬之；曰喉音，烏、以、二類屬之；曰舌面前音，陟、敕、直、之、昌、時、式、而、八類屬之；曰舌尖後音，側、楚、仕、所、四類屬之；曰舌尖音，奴、力、都、他、徒、五類屬之；曰舌尖前音，子、七、情、先、四類屬之；曰雙脣音，包舉補、普、蒲、莫、四類；曰脣齒音，兼賅方、扶、武、三類。如此假設排列，不知當時之音位，果否若是。然依用舊說，終不易使人得明確之辨識也。

一類之中，並分數系者，依據諸切上字系聯之跡象，參證指掌圖之等位。不意此種材料，竟能宛然有合，故各系之先後，即依等位之數定之。

各系反切上字，以少數字之錯亂，遂使彼此膠葛，此不過十之一二耳。本然之界畫，猶灼然具見於大多數之音切中。故各系不規則之音切，雖復並存，但點識之，示其歧誤，不足據信。

每類中無上字所引之字，率以他字用之爲直音者替代之，如居類君系君字無切，而麐字讀居雲等切，並直音君，則居雲切亦即等君字切也，故次麐於君字，以字其之。其僅無切可徵，而又不見他字用之爲直音可替代者，僅附著本類之後也。又以切語希

少，故不能從此系聯者，[illegible]改之。

第一組 [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

結

[illegible]

總計[illegible]反切上字，共一百七十九。[illegible]

[illegible]

耕敬稅鑑金禁今

溪類

苦 [illegible]

[illegible]

總本類反切上字共九十有二，無同音可繫者凡二十一文，錄後：

豈器輕犬溪卿曲客巧可遣齲窺困苦傴詰勸欠欽接

羣類

[illegible]

總本類反切上字，共六十有四，無同音可繫者十一字，錄後：

[illegible]及琴

疑類

[illegible]

昻嵩 五蓋 吾嵩 我嵩 獃艾孩 五亥 岸昻幹 我幹 俄幹 俄五哥 我哥

魚三等 魚語居 御魚舉 儀魚羈 仰魚兩 銀 誾(音銀)魚巾 牛斤 虮斤 岌魚及 吟吟吉 吟 岑今 㐰 魚撿 嚴魚奄 儼 魚杴 原 魚袁 危 危魚袁 隗魚委

遇 寓(音遇) 遇句 愚遇俱 偶遇口 偶愚矩 虞矩 玉愚欲　不錄蜀？源字切，愚危二字同用，則遇愚等字與危列同系也。

彥言變　上聲巘韻增字切，言魚同用，則彥亦魚系字也。

魏魏貴 巍魏歸　魏巍五切，致不能與上列諸字系聯，考其聲位，實相同也。

霓四等 霓倪計 倪計 魚奚 牛繼 詣 五計 詣詣 霓奚 魚計 倪霓計 [illegible] 霓霓 [illegible] 研結 研 霓 霓堅

硯五見 蜺 五分 研奚 五結 齧 霓結 研結

總本類反切上字，共七十有七。其無切語可攷者凡二十字，錄後：

宜義硯言元午迎語五牛虞吾吳雅顏我鍔敖遨唐

呼類

呼一二等 呼虛孤 虎呼古 虛古 灰呼假 悔呼會 火外 賄 灰猥 [illegible] 呼甘 訶甘 呵甘 歊呼遘 吼呼狗 呵狗 訶狗 訶苟 虛垢 㰤呼各 呵各 訶各 火各 郝 呵各 訶 訶哥 虎呵 郝歌 許多 訶 訶改 呼皆 呼括 呼活 欻 呼卉 呼旱 呵旱 虛旱 呼見 呼昆 忽 忽笏(音忽) 呼骨 慌 呼廣 荒廣 荒 肓(音荒) 慌光 霍 霍(音霍) 荒郭

虛三等 虛許魚 喜 嬉(音喜) 虛紀 戲 虛紀 喜義 希 虛依 香依 羲 許羈 許靳 昕 喜斤 忻 許斤 香銀 迄 許乞 欣 許乙 欣乙 欣 許殷 香殷 赫 虛厄 享厄 呀格 吸 虛急 許及 歆急 翕急 脅 許謁 軒謁 歇 軒竭 迄 虛訖 欣訖 香乙 險 香掩 許檢 香檢 許險 險 脇 許業 香業 虛業 枚 許業 興 香應 休 鵂(音休) 許牛 朽 朽憂 休柳 朽 許竟 虛圓 呼圓 香兄 兄呼 兄 毀 許委 麾 揮 許歸 毀逵 血規 許規 暉 許韋 虛縁 香羊 熏 許云 訓 呼軍 熏 許云 吁 盱(音吁) 況于 况于 呼禹 訏 况 誑 呼誑 勛 呼玉 凶 許容 匈 欻 呼邑 吸 呼及

按鑿與驍爲四等字，以其切上字，多用三等，故不能別出爲系。

總本類反切上字，共八十有四。無切可攷者凡二十六文，錄後：

許香禧血諱去兄醯𩐁嵩煇鶴訓憲[illegible]郝軒烜火孝享享花霍噉欶(?)

胡類

胡一二等 胡 𣾰(音胡) 戶吳 胡古 胡肱 胡定 形 胡高 胡高 號 胡刀 號高 毫 胡高 号 何 荷(音何) 胡我 賀 胡箇 鶴 何各 航 胡郎 何剛 胡剛 胡 黃 胡光 晃 胡廣 胡廣 皇 胡光 胡光 瑝 胡光 鑊 胡郭 胡郭 胡 胡 胡 遐 胡加 下加 戶加 夏 胡加 狎 胡甲 胡甲 匣 胡甲 胡 咸 胡監 械 胡戒 諴(音咸) 胡 胡 洽 胡夾 [illegible] 胡 患 胡慣 患 胡 [illegible] 胡 溷 胡困 洪 胡公 戶公 胡 胡 胡 胡 [illegible] 胡 胡 胡 胡 [illegible] 胡 活 胡括 胡 胡 胡 [illegible] 胡 胡 換 胡貫 胡 [illegible] 胡 行 胡 [illegible] 胡 胡 胡 胡 胡 胡 胡 胡 胡 胡 [illegible] 胡 閤 胡 胡

(音閑)閒 核閒 限姦 諧皆 戶皆 骸 諧皆 鞋 核皆 諧皆 蟹皆 偕 幸 倖 音幸 行耿 衡耿 莖耿 莖 幸耕 核庚 杏耕 戶耕 巷 行降 胡降 學降 項降 缸 巷江 項江 學江 項 項降

何講 學降 學 項角

寒 早安 汗 寒幹 去聲翰韵捍字切，寒與胡何同用。

侯喉(音侯) 侯鉤 猴 侯后 鉤樓 平聲侯韵猴字切，后與胡同用。

含函(音含) 含甘 含闇 音含 含臘 去聲紺韵頷字切，含胡同用。

孩 亥哀 平聲咍韵孩字切，亥與胡同用。

爻淆(音爻) 効交 平聲肴韵淆字切，効與戶同用。

擕 四等 畦 奚圭 [illegible] 胡圭 [illegible] 攜桂 [illegible] 惠 慧 音惠 叶桂 胡桂 擕 [illegible] 奚圭 戶圭 熒 [illegible] 胡扃 [illegible] 穴 玄決 玄 縣(音玄) 穴涓

系 奚計 奚 蹊(音奚) 奚形 鷄 形鷄 賢鷄 嫌 奚兼 刑閑 叶閑 形兼 俠 俠 刑頰 賞頰

總本類切語上字，共一百二十一字。其無切語可攷者凡二十九文，錄後：

形賢戶滎獲乎侯后夏薤衡廈下迴亥効號恢現後魂旱活見杏刑叶限閒

第二組 喉音

烏類

烏 一二等 烏 哀姑 隖 烏古 鄔 烏古 埦 烏古 惋 烏貫 [illegible] 剜 烏官 椀 [illegible] 婠 烏郭 汪 [illegible] 枉 汪往 彧 往 艧 枉郭 尪 枉王 烏王 泓 烏宏 [illegible] 尼宏 一宏 窊

烏花 汎花 乙瓜 猥 烏悔 偎 烏回 隈 烏回 煨 烏回 [illegible] 猥灰 翁 烏孔 [illegible] 甕 翁 [illegible] 翁貢 烏貢 奧 烏告 [illegible] 隩 烏告 澳 阿鑒 暗 烏紺 阿紺 庵

烏含 暗含 菴 暗含 屋 沃(音屋) 烏酷 [illegible] 惡 烏故 [illegible] 烏鉤 歐 謳鉤 [illegible] 乙侯 於口 壓 烏甲 [illegible] 於甲 押 鴨(音押) 烏甲 黠 鴨檻 押減 於斬

鷗 烏侯 [illegible] 嬰 烏耕 [illegible] [illegible] 於耕 厄 軛(音厄) [illegible] 於 [illegible] 於耕 [illegible] 烏侯 嘔 烏口

[illegible]

愛 哀代 埃 愛孩 去聲代韵，與愛同音之曖字，其切上字，烏哀同用，故是愛埃亦烏系字也。

安鞍(音安) [illegible] 按 安旦 入聲[illegible]韵[illegible]字切，安與[illegible]同用。

於 三等 倚 於蟻 [illegible] 衣 衣 於衣 依 依 [illegible] [illegible] 於[illegible] 倚 於[illegible] [illegible] 憂 於牛 應 於矜 [illegible] 億 臆(音億) 於力 應力 憶力

應 億矜 憶矜 郁 於六 央六 [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] 偃 於蹇 [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] 央 於月 [illegible] 妖 央驕 於驕 夭 夭驕 悒 央卸 [illegible] 妖 夭嬌 妖驕 於驕 夭 [illegible] 僮

於力 抑 於力 掩 於檢 [illegible] 淹 [illegible] 奄 [illegible] 邑 挹(音邑) 於[illegible] 飲 [illegible] 於謹 [illegible] 慍 [illegible] 穩 [illegible] 慍 於運 擁 於拱 [illegible] 委 於危

萎 於危 委 [illegible] 燠 [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] 鬱 [illegible] 菀 於勿 [illegible] [illegible] 紆 文 威 葳(音威) 委 歸 畏

威 [illegible] 怨 [illegible] 鴛 [illegible] 宛 [illegible] 苑 [illegible] 紆 於于 [illegible] 迂 汪 於羽 紆禹 嫗 紆遇 傴 紆矩 嫗矩 央禹 於宇

伊 四等 [illegible] 伊計 [illegible] 於計 [illegible] 哮 [illegible] 宴 [illegible] 一 [illegible] 燕 [illegible] 煙 [illegible] 嚥 [illegible] 宴 煙 [illegible] 一 [illegible] 伊 真 挹 煙

伊入 [illegible] 緊 [illegible] 伊計 一 [illegible] [illegible] 於計 邀 伊饒 幽 [illegible] 伊 一 [illegible] 要 一 叫 幺 伊 [illegible] 幽 一 山 幼 幽 袖 嬰 伊 盈 纓 益 於 盈 纓 益 盈

瓔縊盈伊盈癭伊郢嬰郢攖郢纓頂懕伊閻恚一季於季抉恚悅縈悅涓血淵決伊血縈恚營縈營伊營於營縈縈瞑娟瞑伊瞑娟恚緣一緣淵抉玄壹玄乙玄

伊玄於玄烏玄

印因胤 平聲湮韻堙字切，印一同用，則印與上列諸字同系也。

總本類反切上字，共一百五十有七。其無切語可攷者凡三十四文，錄後：

於伊一壹縊隱英阿毆乙櫻尼黳哀妖癸巳擹婀翁雍邑蘊晏殷鷖鷖堰烟涓約攫揖陰

鷖鷖卽燕字

以類

韋三等 違韋音違位歸羽危韋韋鬼爲鬼于鬼偉韋委爲鬼爰違元遠元越爰月袁月爲薳危于盂(音于)羽俱宇俱禹俱榮俱宇于甫禹瑀

(音禹)于矩運于郡云筲(音雲)運君殞雲粹隕云敏暈雲訓雲郡

尤疣(音尤)有憂有憂右囿(音右)尤救 尤有等字，於等韻中爲三等，依類宜次於此。

榮永平 榮亦三等字，故亦次此。

以四等 夷以之余之巳峡引以忍余忍寅印逸余質鹽余廉琰占琰鹽冉閻奄閻檐(音閻)葉凭葉閻接耶以遮野耶且酉誘(音酉)

以酒餘手由酒由蚰音由以州酉州延以旃弋仙衍延典演延典弋蠅卽移以之亦掖(音亦)移益益益搵(音益)亦正郢盈井孕以證

移證餘證翼證蠅甑蠅孕蒸翼綃以綃翼蠅卽孕賸羊賸喻翼注焰翼念閻贍樂躍(音樂)弋灼翼灼陽削羊略羊餘章恙羊亮怡以之與之與餘諸育

與六融育融曜羊要遙羌遙搖(音遙)羊翹曜消翼消腴翼朱庾朱揄庾朱庾腴主羊主臾主臾羊朱喻朱踰庾珠羊珠瑜庾須容鎔(音容)

瑜鍾適鍾涌從勇傭欲鍾欲鵒(音欲)容燭用足涌容腫羊腫勇容踵羊腫欲踵庸腫庸勇從臾鍾以鍾養痒(音養)羊掌揚羊章惟維(音惟)翼佳

以惟唯惟癸維癸唯癸遺唯癸營惟扃役惟役疫(音役)營隻緣綠緣音緣悅泉鉛悅消悅緣決兗緣耆 緣鉛悅兗皆四等字，依類次此。

總本類反切上字，共一百零一字。無切可稽者二十九文，錄後：

余惟除油攸姚寅筠云芸圓袁陽王炎于以羽有遠永異又夜用位驛聿潏

第三組舌面前音

陟類

陟賑棘知力徵力知胝(音知)豬知蠡褫陟衿哲知列展裂展哲輦館窋(音豹)展迍豬陟閭貯驢誅株(音誅)知輸陟尉駐尉張輸駐誅具冢

張兩株離誅壠斸𠜾冢錄誅錄杜誅縷貯張呂豬呂陟呂知呂卒珍栗豬栗珍窒隣卓陟角輕知芳株芳鍇張廉肘張柳知柳嘲柳輈有輈張留砧陟金

黏林礁黏金張林知林啁陟交嘲陟交張交滴交滴交猪交謅罩交嘲交窋窋知校嘲校卓校豨適耒謫陟革知革嘲革張革竹革咤革適猪革張革摘嘲革知革

陟革張革擿知革張革磔張革陟革嘲革謫革知厄竹厄咤竹姹摘姹茁竹刮𢴤陟猾茁瓜卓瓜知瓜嘲瓜陟瓜竹瓜鵽緆刮追刮竹築(音竹)中六中衷

(音中)竹隆

總本類反切上字，共四十六，無切可稽者八。錄後：

知張追牒狐轉致踔

敕類

敕丑力 檉勑貞 黜恥律 勑律 椿律 暢丑亮 敕亮 丑 杻音丑 抽柳 勑柳 抽丑留 椿勑倫 勑倫 恥倫 黜屯 恥勑里 癡里 癡恥之 絺恥支 徹恥列 寵勑勇 覘勑占 詔廉 諂丑冉 恥冉 覘染 擿丑擿 恥革

赬逞貞

總本類反切上字，共十有八。無切可攷者二文，錄後：

勒勑勅 勑 一字

直類

澄直陵 長陵 長直良 丈良 陳 塵(音陳)長鄰 廛長連 直連 纏長連 直連 池連 持連 持 池(音持)直离 傳直戀 澤直格 濯直角 幢卓 撞角 幢角 濁幢覺 撞學 擢幢卓 幢卓 撞卓 蟲長融 直中 仲中 除中 逐隆 逐蟲六 沖逐中 除隆 除 躇(音除)直閭 佇閭 貯閭 筯閭 瑒於 佇除呂 紵除呂 筯除慮 直慮 腸除良 丈良 丈 杖(音丈)直亮 遲池尼 長泥 馳長離 雉離 直知 雉池履 持几 峙馳里 持里 除理 擇持格 棖格 棖擇庚 宅庚 槌直追 墜追 椎直贏 長縲 除追 墜追 朮追 錘直追 長追 墜追 住常 鎚直追 長贏 治追 沖追 墜追 治除離 長離 直知 雉知 時答 墜直類 長類 除類 稚類 朮類 儔直留 長流 池流 紂流 宙流 ▢▢ 長留 紂流 逐留 宙留 宙 籀(音宙)籀溜 胄籌宥 儔又 直宥 持右 治又 池又 稠又 稠長留 直留 胄留 宙留 紂留 逐留 池留 重直勇 躅重局 椽直緣 長攣 篆攣 篆儔兗 廚兗 廚直俱 沈直林 長林 除林 持林 池林 朕林 朕沈錦

總本類反切上字，共五十有八。無切可攷者十四字，錄後：

除潮憧陳呈程紂穉住仲鄭直朮宅

之類

種之勇 鍾勇 鍾燭龍 燭鍾辱 者 赭(音者)之野 遮也 遮者蛇 止 砥(音止)之履 脂雉 脂止夷 旨 指(音旨)脂尚 支 枝(音支)止移 紙移 紙支爾 戰之善 旃善 旃之然 戰然 饘戰然 之然 章然 浙旨熱 折之設 戰熱 章熱 軫之忍 章忍 質眞栗 鬸之涉 占涉 㕝涉 占之讈 詹之廉 諸閻 煮諸汝 渚之與 諸與 章與 專之緣 拙專悅 灼之藥 章若 章灼良 正章盛 周 洲(音周)之由 章由 掌章壤 鍼 針章任 之壬 支淫 汁深 執任 枕任 枕章荏 之荏 針稔 執針入

朱侏(音朱)上儒 主朱乳

終衆戎 衆終仲

蒸職仍 織綾

隻征亦

準隹尹

總本類反切上字，共五十二。無切可攷者十三字，錄後：

之隹諸珠州征招昭眞祝職織汁

昌類

昌猖(音昌)唱腸 敞商 敞昌仰 唱掌 充昌隆 侈昌是 處昌與 穿昌專 歡專 串專 歜 喘捐 釧捐 川緣 喘川兗 釧穿 春 川春 吹炊(音吹)出垂 尚為 推出隹 齒昌止 蚩止 鴟止 鴟鷄尚時 尚詩 昌之 叱支 叱尚逸 瞋栗 嚏質 瞋叱真 昌眞 蚩叱支 昌夷 尚之 嗤尚詩 赤之 闡昌演 齒淳 醜赤帚 昌帚 尺帚 尺席(音尺)昌隻 鴟赤 尚赤 姝昌朱 尚朱 衝朱 觸蹈 衝鍾 觸尚欲 車昌遮 尚遮 稽昌啟 鴟古

總本類反切上字，共三十有二。無切可攷者七字，錄後：

川犨蚩春唱赤出

時類

旹是之 乘時證 市時止 尚市讓 慎腎(音慎)時刃 酬時周 受時酉 壽到 受讎帝 壽售(音壽)又 醻時兜 讎兜 讎壽流 受周 授周 授讎有 讎有 是祇(音是)時爾 仝爾 承時仍 是陵 食蝕(音食)時織 仝織 繩證 術時律 述事 述律 述律 脣時倫 純倫 遺倫 漘倫 屵 殊倫 唇倫 順楯(音順)閏 閏 述潤 垂倕(音垂)睡 僞 遺垂緣 殊緣 睡垂累 殊銖(音殊)時朱 樹時注 尚殊 純時倫 淳倫 常倫 常嘗(音常)尚章 韶常招 韶招 侶常曉 繩常仍 時仍 仝仍 石仍 石射(音石)時夜 仝夜 成盛(音成)石征 蛇常遮 射遮 時遮 逝遮 禪 蟬(音禪)時然 善然 善鱓(音善)禪 禪

切韻攷聲類，乘、神、食、實、等字，與牀、助、豺、士、等字，於三十六母中，俱屬牀母。自陳氏攷定之後，始知分立。本編聲類，乘助之分，與切韻無異。惟禪母與乘神一類字，融乳爲一，是新發耳。

總本類反切上字，共四十五。無切可攷者十一字，錄後：

殊愁示雠辰臣神純甚社拾

式類

式傷弋 升力 傷商(音傷)式羊 賞羊 始羊 書羊 賞傷 獸 傷燒 始然 設延 設結 設熱 舒羶 輸殊 書殊 式朱 輸書 舒 書余 式余 暑余 始屎(音始)矢爾 矢尸旨 尸屍始之 試尸 深尸任 傷任 審 尸設 尸異 施舒 申人

昇陞(音昇)識蒸　入聲陟商等字切，識昇一字，與詩商等字同用，則昇式類也。

收手由 守留

總本類反切上字，共三十有四。無切可引者十六字，錄後：

施書詩聲始署水捨識東失室庶手守世

而類

戎而終 然而指 蠕 燃 然 臑而專 耎而兗 兗 兗 如兗 孺 乳 儒 乳朱 而住 乳住 乳 蕊而捶 如捶 乳水 水 而羊 壤 若 弱 而灼 如灼 壞而掌 壤掌 柔掌 柔而周 仁而親 而羊 人 人 然 而 然 熱而設 如設 如 而 而 耳而紙 而沼 如沼 如少 饒招 辱 而燭 如欲 瞤純 閏倫 潤而順 如順 順 運

任入針

總本類反切上字，共三十有八。無切徵引者十三字，錄後：

如而仍人茸壬遶汝耳閏讓若人

第四組舌尖後音

側類

側莊力 仄阻色 櫛側瑟 榛瑟 臻瑟 阻瑟 莊裝(音莊)側霜 莊狀 壯狀 爪側絞 莊絞 俎側呂 莊呂 莊所 爭所 葅阻疏 斬側減 壯莊狀 蓁櫛巾 責莊革 爭革
戢莊立 側立 緝澀 淄側基 滓師 滓淄史 緇史 緇滓 側基 基 臻側巾 櫛詵 簪側林 戢今 譖岑 阻側尿 俎所 莊所 菹 詛(音菹)阻疏 菹疏 鄒莊鴆

總本類反切上字，共二十四字。無切可攷者四文，錄後：

齋爭箏笮

楚類

楚初所 杈楚加 釵加 差牙 剗初產 察限 察察(音察)初八 刹初八 楚擒 側尺 芻楚于 搊俱 測俱 惻搊憂 楚憂 搊憂 測捉 廁初加 惻初側 楚力 測初力
楚力 叉初瘦 搊楚事 廁初事 楚事 差戢 惻志 測志 插初甲 楚甲 叉甲 插洽 鍤楚洽 差洽 窗初革 楚革 瘡楚霜 惻霜 測霜 創霜 叉霜 瘡霜 創初莊 楚莊 叉楚加 抄
叉交 楚交 磣初錦 齒差 炒初絞

總本類反切上字，共二十有四。無切徵引者一字，錄後：

初

什類

乍仕嫁 査乍加 鉏仕耕 查耕 漯棧閑 查閑 棧柴限 查限 柴豺(音柴)仕諧 牀諧 儕仕皆 牀士莊 柴莊 牀莊 崇牀隆 牀床莊 僎牀戀 漯戀 巢仕爻 柴爻
士狀 狀交 鋤交 鋤助疏

總本類反切上字，共十有七。無切徵引者四字，錄後：

士仕助事

所類

沙所加 疎疏所初 所限 瑟所乙 蹝疎滓 師滓 師史 師疏 栓疎員 所員 稍所交 稍交 稍霜教 霜教 霜孀(音霜)所莊 澀戢 戢 山訕(音
山)所奸 刪雙捉 稍朔捉 所卓 色卓 數卓 雙所江 雙江 霜色 嗇(音色)生側 色朔 搜色求 所鳩 霜鳩 漱鄒 搜鄒 搜色祐 搜宥 瘦救 色救 衫沙咸 瑟
衫夾 色夾 色史 史所史 沙衛 所衛 衰所追 霜追 率追 率所律 數所角 霜角 色角 霜角 森所金 澀森 參金 參所今 澀今

總本類反切上字，共三十有四。無切徵引者六字，錄後：

篩砂縮煞史生

第五組舌尖音

奴類

奴一二等　奴孥(音奴)怒部怒奴覩弩奴古猱奴高訥奴兀暖煗奴短弩短能奴登乃登乃迺奴改難乃旦農膿(音農)奴冬乃公

囊奴黨乃唐曩郎諾郎諾乃各曩各那各鬧奴効鐃教橈効拏効寧教尼効鐃閙交拏交拏搦加儜遐奴加努加尼加儜搦耕拏耕女耕搦儜擿女尼溺女搦矮

女三等　躡女涉尼輒黏輒聶女輒黏輒泥涉匿女力尼力

寧四等　佞寧定捻寧葉念葉尿寧糶溺弔泥弔溺寧的泥的泥溺提禰雞奴奚

切韻攷聲類，奴，乃，諾，一類字，與尼，拏，女，一類字，於三十母中，所謂泥娘二母也。本編糅合為一，而以韻等之不同，又分析為三系。

總本類反切上字，共三十有五。無切徵引者九字，錄後：

拏那囊內女念年寧禰

力類

魯一二等　魯虜覩盧廬(音盧)魯胡郎都盧都螺盧和魯和力和倮螺果盧果騾果騾力戈虜力古婁力侯蔞魯鉤力句樓魯侯勒侯漏鉤漏

樓豆力豆鑾魯桓亂端盧桓亂欒段盧段盧段勒郎得稜勒登勞勒刀老刀盧刀老勒倒牢老刀盧刀攬勒敢藍敢洛敢濫洛甘魯甘覽來敢蠟藍答臘藍答

洛郎各郎狼(音郎)洛閬郎當欄郎單勒單蘭單闌蘭丹洛寒落寒落郎各力各拉郎答盧答魯合力荅聾魯東祿東鹿紅弄籠貢祿棟籠瀧祿紅鹿紅

盧紅崙論(音崙)盧混

力三等　凌力澄良蜋(音良)力張離力知梨力知里裡(音里)力几梨旨理力紀綠力劉流燭兩良掌略掠(音略)良約力約立粒

(音立)力邑臨邑悋力刃隣陣隣鱗(音隣)栗珍廉力兼斂廉檢獵廉葉力葉隆力沖陸沖六沖六戮(音六)力竹隆竹留竹陸流竹留力稠柳

留守流力周連聯(音連)力延葉然列蘗列連徹埒連展力展類律墜倫淪(音倫)律均纍律追力水累律觜壘律軌力鬼縷律矩劣

攣力剸力轉劣戀攣力攣劣專劣員力緣綠力緣戀力眷驢力豬呂豬旅居旅力貯閭呂居驢呂豬廬旅豬呂除力除呂侶(音呂)盧貯

了四等　了寥鳥寥歷彫了條遼了隹聊遼彫了彫力彫寮了彫力彫

歷曆狄力伶歷丁力丁苓歷丁力呈靈冷(音寧)歷丁瀝霹滴

麗禮帝犂帝黎計郎計憐禮顚練田練楝(音練)蓮見

總本類反切上字，共一百十四。無切徵引者二十九字，錄後：

黎來郎龍雷鏤羅縲陵蓮蘭戀𦈢林臨里李禮郎利爛闌浪力律錄祿鹿羚

都類

都一等　都覩胡覩都魯端都官敦都昆頓都困敦困兜都侯當鉤登樓斗斗侯斗兜偶斟當苟膽都敢當敢躭敢擔覽儋覽答敢當璫(音當)得郎

當郎到倒(音到)當老黨當朗對當內都內堆當雷都雷對回得當勒登勒擔當甘都甘多甘膽甘答南儋都含多古答南德甘丹單殫(音丹)(音單)當安

多安旦日干旦丹汗單幹怛丹遏單剌耽都甘當甘多甘答南荅躭合當納

丁四等　玷丁簟都簟　點丁琰店簟　底丁禮低禮　彫鵰(音彫)丁遼鳥聊　鳥彫了　刁鳥聊　帝嚏(音帝)丁計低計紙悌

總本類反切上字，共四十一。無切徵引者十二字，錄後：

丁低紙柢登刀東冬典等邸德

他類

他一等　偸他侯　突他敢　胎他來泰來貸來　泰汰(音泰)他蓋　透偷漏　貪聃(音貪)他甘塔甘菼甘　塔貪荅　兎他路通路土路吐故　退吐內　撻他過　灘撻丹炭丹坦糯

湍湯官　託湯洛　平聲鈎韻錄字切，湯他同用，則湍託二字與上列字同系。

體四等　體梯禮　悌體計天帝　挑體彫眺彫天聊　祧眺彫他彫　梯體泥替低剔低天堤他弔　替天計惕麗　惕天歷汀歷體亦聽亦　剔聽的汀歷他歷　聽體勁

逷聽歷

添怙閻忝拈

總本類反切上字，共四十二。無切徵引者十八字，錄後：

天他佗通湯儺貪怙土吐眺討坦忝貸炭歎鍇

徒類

徒一等　徒達胡　桃徒刀　毒徒斛同鹿桐篤　獨同祿　洞同貢　桐動東　同彤(音同)亭冬　譚徒南　談徒南淡甘　淡達濫唐濫　噉談濫達濫唐濫　澹淡濫徒濫　潭唐南　覃淡南澹南徒含曹南　陶徒勞道牢唐勞　道陶老　陀徒何度河堂何　跎馱何　馱陀哆　蕩堂浪　壇堂丹但丹　但唐旦　待怠(音待)徒改臺乃　隊徒對　臺擡(音臺)待來代來大來　殆臺改　代怠(音代)徒奈　大逮(音大)臺耐徒奈唐奈　唐徒當　騰唐能特能儯登徒登　鄧騰亘　特騰勒唐勒　彈徒干唐寒但難達丹　憚徒旦達旦憚旦　闌唐闌檀闌壇闌　鐸徒各唐洛　駝徒何度何鐸河達河唐河　屯徒論度昆突敦　鈍屯頓突頓徒頓塗頓豚頓　豚突論　途度都　遯屯嫩肫頓徒頓突頓　迺遯遯　突屯訥鈍訥徒骨　團徒鸞脣鸞　段鍛(音段)團弄　奪團活徒活

豆竇(音豆)頭候

亭四等　甸亭現　佃畋甸憐殿年　殿電(音殿)田見　鈿田練　田闐(音田)堅年鈿憐徒堅　恬亭閻牒兼簟兼甜兼　牒恬協　疊亭叶甜叶徒協　甜牒閻定閻亭閻　條亭姚定彫　掉條燿亭曜滌曜庭曜調曜　庭霆(音庭)亭寧狄丁　狄荻(音狄)亭歷徒歷　調庭聊　迢庭聊徒彫　笛睍(音弟)隄笛提帝啼計徒計　啼提(音啼)弟兮　蹄弟奚　亭徒丁

總本類反切上字，共八十有三。無切徵引者十八字，錄後：

隄頭棠肫廷曇潭杜待定動簟第悌度兌達笛

第六組舌尖前音

子類

祖一等　祖租古　緵祖管鑽管　撮祖活蕞活宗活　總祖孔宗董　總宗弄　遭祖勞早勞　災祖來宰才哉來　宰祖待災在　載宰愛哉愛　哉子來　早澡

〔音早〕遭皂 糟子老 糟早勞 臧勞 簪臧含 祖含 昝含 撮子括 子含 左臧可 則可 佐臧箇 子箇 緘作郎 奏則候 作臧洛 藏作郎

子四等 子梓〔音子〕茲里 遵子倫 諮子斯 滋子私 茲子思 資貲〔音資〕子移 紫斯 紫茲此 積紫錫 諸積 旌積盈 咨子思 姊私 姊咨此 津

子隣 井資 井精郢 焦椒〔音焦〕井消 子遙 即姚 漿逆 勦逆 精逆 醮焦笑 勦焦了 獎將兩 箭子線 精線 煎精綫 煎綫 煎箭煙 剪煎符 精演 將遵籠 精籠 醉遵壘 醉將崇

節癤〔音節〕煎結 將切 睫 箋節前 精先 濟精西 濟精禮 子計 濟細 接 櫼〔音接〕子葉 尖 殲接廉 尖 接鹽 井鹽 爵 嚼〔音爵〕子藥 即藥 將藥

焦躍 紫削 足精裕 啾酒由 子由

總本類反切上字，共七十。無切徵引者十九字，錄後：

精將租緅娵漿晶酒鑽祭再皻罾卽卒則猝㯥借

七類

倉一等 倉錯郎 餐倉單 麤粗 倉胡 倉粗 酢粗蘇 怱 倉公 醋酢倉故 麤故 族 麤鹿 粗豆 錯倉洛 倉各 蹉倉柯 倉何 錯何 竄倉亂 麤亂 麤亂 麤亂 麤亂

村七亂 村寸尊 怱聰〔音怱〕倉紅 倉紅 麤公 七公 聰 忖寸 忽 麤本 倉本 倉困 催七雷 縩倉宰 猜宰 採倉宰 倉改 菜猜代 猜 倉來 倉來 倉才 倉哀 倉災 七才

采倉改 采猜宰

七四等 雌此移 此雌氏 赽七諸 七慈 覷七狩 七慮 蛆七余 七余 且余 秋七修 七遥 鍬七焦 七消 悄七小 千笑 簽七鹽 七廉 且廉 千遷〔音千〕七仙 淺七錢

淺七演 千演 鏘七羊 七羊 槍七羊 鶬七將 槍七兩 搶七亮 七將 親七人 搶七羊 七兩 清淸〔音淸〕七情 七精 七盈 磧七亦 七歷 七歷 靑 七經 戚七亦 侵 七林

寢七稔 七感 千寢 寢 侵七侵 七入 緝七入 七入 七醉 翠七醉 千醉 七全 筌七緣 七緣 取七緣 促取 七恭 七樂 竊七結 七結 七結 七結 七齊 妻 七計 砌妻濟

總本類反切上字，共六十有二。無切徵引者十五字，錄後：

千蒼倉蹉催麤且草取請寸切猝錯此

情類

藏一等 昨郎 昨 在各 賊 在則 在則 曹 在勞 祖勞 在勞 漕 在勞 在到 在到 在到 族 在木 在木 徂 殂 在胡 在胡 昨胡 在故 在故 存 在尊 在尊 在安 慚 昨甘 徂含 雜 在合 徂合

雜合 雜 在合 在合 在合 財 在哉 從 才用 在容 才登 才登 曾 在登 贈 在鄧 在鄧

槽 在勞 造 曹道 皂 漕〔音皂〕曹道 曹 在老

情四等 淨 靜〔音淨〕情井 寂 情歷 情夜 藉 情夜 自 疾 齊〔音齊〕情奚 疾奚 情奚 昨迷 在計 疾計 聚 慈庾 慈庾 疾 嫉〔音疾〕情悉 秦悉

盡 樵 昨焦 疾焦 慈焦 秦焦 情焦 慈 疵 在移 疾移 慈移 情盈 情 疾盈 匠 情亮 疾亮 牆 疾良 疾良 前 情先 昨先 在先 才先 捷 情接 疾接 潛 疾鹽 寂 疾歷 疾歷

漸 疾冉 就 鷲 情就 疾就 秦就 疾就 就 疾由 疾由

循四等 旬 循〔音旬〕詳遵 似遵 松遵 似遵 詳 隨 旬隨 似規 遂 辭類 遂 旋 辭緣 似緣 象 詳兩 謝 夕夜 邪 似嗟 夕嗟 涎 夕延 似延 詳延 詳延

羨 似面 羨 似面 詳箭 辭箭 翔 徐羊 似羊 詳羊 詳 似羊 尋 徐林 似林 習 似入 寺 飼〔音寺〕似吏 詞 辭 似茲 辭 似茲 囚 似由 袖 似救 祠 似茲

似 似〔音似〕似紫 飼 似由 就由

松 俗容 去聲違韻誦字切，松與旬同用。

按一切經音義八十三卷十八頁與八十五卷十頁著錄之酋字，其義俱訓酋長，其音一作就由切，一作似由切。據此一字，當時之音，情（從母四等字）循（邪母）兩系之發聲，或相同也。又以第三組舌面前部帶音摩擦之禪母，與破裂摩擦之乘母（牀母之別一類）相合之現象例之，則舌尖前帶音摩擦之邪母（於本編爲循系）與破裂摩擦之從母（從母四等字，於本編爲情類之情系）混渾爲一，其可能性，未嘗不強。此根據禪乘渾一之跡，參取當時語音家之說，酋字之切，就與似同用，乃一可貴之材料也。惟通檢緝錄讀從邪二母字，其合併之例證絕少。去聲震韻燼字切，凡二十一見，屢注夕刃、辭進、等切，並注秦刃切者三見。但於四十六卷十二頁灰燼下注云，“寺進，秦刃二反，”八十八卷三頁同燼下注云，“秦進反，俗音似進反，非也，”則燼字宜讀秦進反，其屢注之夕刃等切，自亂之狀，與寢字之切，旣以敷務反爲秦音而取之，又復雜用敷救反，正同。（此說參看通例。）然則從邪兩聲，慧琳依用之音切，蓋有殊別。執此兩端，納循系字於情類，酋字彼此互見，以見其可合。依據大部分之材料，列書兩系，以見其似分。

總本類反切上字，共八十有四（藏情兩系，有切可徵者，三十八字，循系二十四字。）無切徵引者，二十一字，錄後：

自字情秦盡聚萃才徂在罪坐族前錢賤泉（藏情兩系）夕徐辭席（循系）

先類

桑一等　桑索郎　索桑落 喪作　喪桑浪　筭算桑管　散　珊　珊桑干 蘇安　賽桑代 思代　搔桑勞 掃遭 嫂刀　嫂騷老　騷桑勞 掃遭　掃搔老 桑老 蘇早
臊蘇遭 掃遭 嫂遭 桑刀　叟桑厚 素口 蘇走 涑厚　漱叟縐　娑蘇戈 素河　素訴（音素）蘇固　蘇素胡　颯蘇匝 三荅　酸蘇端 筭官　瑣蘇果 桑果 思果
損孫本　孫蓀（音孫）損尊 息尊

先四等　先星延 仙薦　屑仙節　薛紲（音薛）先列 仙列 思列　褻躞（音褻）暹葉 先協　析先狄 星亦　昔星歷　西栖棲（音西）先兮 昔稽 悉齊　悉
膝（音悉）新七 辛逸　辛信津　信訊（音信）新進 辛進　思息資　息思力　胥息余　斯廝（音斯）息貲 先齊 徙移　徙思紫　相息羊　削相爵 襄鵲 廂雀　廂
細息四 西羊 想羊　宿相育　肅宿謝 相謝　須思朱 相臾 緊瑜　恤息聿 思律 詢聿 筍律　筍笱荀尹　詢恤遵 私遵 筍遵　荀恂（音荀）思巡 須匀 思遵 戌遵 恤遵
銑先典 蘇典
消小焦　宵小要 私妙　笑嘯（音笑）消弔 宵嘯 蘇弔

總本類反切上字，共八十字。無切徵引者二十八字，錄後：

賜絲司綏雖戍洗粟秀修涑小霄道私梭新宣想襄性姓僧三參遲東胥

第七組雙脣音

補類

補一二等　補(卜古)(逋古)逋(補胡)(布孤)保(補道)(逋老)(報抱)報(保冒)褒(補高)(保毛)(博毛)博(補莫)(謗莫)謗(博晃)波(博摩)崩(博朋)鉢撥(音鉢)(補末)(半末)

絆(鉢慢)(般慢)般(半安)杯盃(鉢梅)(北梅)栢(貝梅)崩(北朋)背(杯妹)貝(杯昧)斑(補閑)(八蠻)班(八蠻)(板蠻)板(班簡)(百簡)伯百擘(音佰)(音百)(補麥)(斑麥)(絣麥)(迸麥)

(絣麥)(坊麥)(巴麥)覇(巴罵)迸(補孟)(擘孟)(百孟)(伯孟)絣(百萌)(伯萌)拼(補萌)(伯萌)(百萌)搏(補莫)(傍莫)(奔莫)奔(本門)

包(飽交)

彼三等　碑(彼皮)陂(彼皮)秉(彼永)(兵永)兵(秉明)碧(兵戟)鄙(兵美)(彼眷)悲羆(音悲)(彼皮)(鄙皮)鄙(悲美)(碑美)筆(悲密)表(筆夭)(碑矯)

必四等　必華(音必)(卑蜜)賓(必鄰)驃(必遙)裨(必彌)(卑移)(庇寐)(畢弭)畢蹕(音畢)(卑蜜)標(必遙)飆(驃遙)(卑妙)臂(卑寐)椑(臂彌)鞭(必綿)(篦綿)(編綿)

(補綿)(卑賓)(必賓)(鴻河)(顯輜)編(必綿)(畢綿)(篦綿)(彌綿)(俾綿)鼈(必滅)(鄙滅)(鮮滅)(卑滅)卑(必彌)(壁亦)(卑亦)蓖(必迷)(閉迷)(壁迷)嬖(蔽繼)(補惕)閉(必計)(補計)

總本類反切上字，共七十四。無切徵引者十九字，錄後：

布卜北邦本半八巴飽苞拜栢(補系)彬(彼系)妣邊俾檳并併(必系)

普類

普一二等　普浦(音普)溥(音普)(滂補)膊(普各)噴(普悶)(歕悶)鋪(普皮)坡(普波)(破波)滂(普綱)判(普半)潘(判般)坏(普梅)(配梅)配霈(音配)

(普昧)(坏貝)(滂貝)璞(普剝)朴(普剝)盼(普患)(普慢)攀(普班)(盼班)(怕巴)烹(普庚)拍(普盲)(烹盲)泊(伯)泊(拍莫)(滂莫)(魄霸)魄(普伯)葩(普巴)(怕巴)(拍巴)

披三等　披(紕悲)(丕彙)鈹(丕彼)

本系見錄之字甚少。披鈹兩字外，不過受（上聲緻韻）擗薜擗蹕（入聲昔韻）五

字。按諸字反切上字爲丕披，則普類三等字，固自爲系也。

匹四等　匹疋(譬蜜)(篇蜜)繽(匹民)(疋賓)篇潎(音篇)(匹路)甹(匹丁)(疋丁)俜(匹丁)(甹冥)娉(匹併)(篇併)劈(匹覓)(甹覓)(片亦)片(篇遍)偏(匹綿)(疋綿)漂(匹遙)

(疋消)批(匹迷)紕(匹夷)(譬彌)縹(匹眇)(疋曉)(漂曉)

總本類反切上字，共四十字。無切徵引者五字，錄後：

破歎仵(普系)丕(披系)譬(匹系)

蒲類

蒲一二等　蒲匍(音蒲)(僕遭)(步模)僕(蒲木)(蓬木)蓬(蒲蒙)盆(蒲門)(蒲奔)(蒲崩)朋(蒲崩)(蒲朋)(蒲朋)蒲(朋蒙)傍(蒲浪)旁(蒲浪)伴(傍滿)薄(傍莫)犮(蒲末)(盤末)

盤(伴瞞)蟠(伴安)(步寒)(傍安)(蒲浪)(蒲江)龐(薄江)瓣(蒲慢)(白慢)(彭慢)猹(彭皂)(白皂)(咆皂)(炮皂)(炮茅)炮(蒲茅)(鮑茅)庖(鮑茅)白舶(音白)(彭陌)拔(白八)(辦八)(滑八)(排八)

(蒲八)排(白皆)(拔埋)(敗埋)(蒲埋)敗(排賣)稗(排賣)(稗賣)(排賣)(白賣)(蒲賣)(陣賣)徘(敗埋)(白埋)(蒲埋)棑(敗埋)(稗埋)牌棑(敗埋)抱(鮑冒)

皮三等　皮疲(音皮)(被羈)(平羈)(蒲悲)被(皮媚)備(平媚)(皮媚)憑(皮冰)(皮冰)辯(皮兔)(別兔)

眂四等　眂毘婢彌　便眂緜　陴婢彌　脾婢卑　步彌　牝脾盡　頻泯　頻𩔁（音頻）眂賓　脾賓　牝賓　㐌賓　𧙍眂必　頻蜜　擗眂亦　薜眂桂　蘗閉　𨔭擗迷　陛迷

瓶迷　陛髀髀（音陛）蘗米　眂米　瓶米　步米　蒲米　瓶並銘　蒲冥　萍並冥　駢瓶眠　便眠　簬眠　辯便沔　騈沔　蒲典

總本類反切上字，共六十三字。無切徵引者十五字，錄後：

步陪裴袍𥳑蒱婆辨白鮑彭蒲系　平皮系　婢鼻並眂系

莫類

莫一二等　莫摩博　摸門博　茫博　忙博　門捫（音門）莫盆　沒奔　𥞊莫卜　茫莫傍　莽光　莽莫謗　茫謗　忙莫傍　漠茫博　忙博　默忙北　莽北　懵北　瞢莫崩

墨朋　默朋　㝠母北　沒門悖　歿門骨　摸骨　毛莫褒　冒毛報　冂毛報　莫保　模莫逋　謨蒲　睦莫謀　摹莫胡　母胡　莫胡　木胡　目胡　慕摹（音慕）摸布　木鶩（音木）

莫族　蒙卜　蒙莫公　幪茂（音幪）莫候　懋莫候　矛后　?謀莫胡　母蒲　謀矛厚　莫侯　矛莫侯　謨侯　貿侯　謀侯　貿矛候　莫侯　撲候　忙侯　母牡（音母）矛厚

魔莫何　摩莫何　磨波　麼莫可　磨莫波　摩波　末莫鉢　摩鉢　幔莫半　謨作　滿半　瞞半　瞞莫安　脈莫伯　孟百　陌伯　麻伯　貊伯　猛盲猛　黽萌耿　萌麥彭　麥盲伯　盲

麥彭　莫彭　盲彭　陌莫百　尨麥邦　濛邦　邈髮剝　莫剝　龐邈邦　忙江　痲蟇（音痲）麥巴　馬巴　莫巴　罵麻霸　馬霸　馬碼（音馬）麻把　慢蒲慢　蠻盼　蠻馬班　麥班

莫班　貓莫包　卯包　茅卯包　昴茅飽　每莫佩　枚每盃　妹每背

眉三等　眉美悲　糜美悲　魅眉祕　莫祕　美眉彼　敏眉殞　旻殞　旻密巾　閔憫（音閔）眉殞　旻殞　泯殞　珉密彬　閔彬　敏彬　密眠筆　眠密彬　媚糜祕　糜

靡碑　美悲　靡眉彼

彌四等　彌蜜卑　蜜民必　謐民畢　泯畢　彌必　泯彌忍　蜜忍　民引　弭忍　蜜牝　弭蜜婢　彌婢　迷閉　迷米泥　謎米泥　覓篦　米彌比　冥米瓶　覓萍　莫瓶　滅彌結　綿結

綿滅編　彌然　沔鞭　沔綿褊　眠沔邊　蔑邊　莫邊　蔑眠鼈

總本類反切上字，共九十七字。無切徵引者十三字，錄後：

梅滿楷儛買卯孟莫系　明目眉系　妙民茗覓彌系

第八組脣齒音

方類

方𩋾（音方）放昉　昉王　昉方罔　放方罔　翻方武　付武　夫趺（音夫）付于　府無　甫無　甫弗禹　分甫墳　缶甫苟　否苟　方苟　腐甫無　府無　府大禹　趺宇　非

蜚（音非）甫微　匪微　䬠非尾　販方萬　反萬　發萬　番萬　番發翻　反坂（音反）發越　發方發　蕃栝　藩櫗　分方文　芳文　忿文　敷文　番坂官　繁樣　𥂕芳萬　斐非尾

妃尾　孚尾　𦁤敷袁　拂芬物　紛勿　撫敷武　孚武　芳武　敷芳夫　覆敷務　孚務　芳務　字芳俱　拊俱　蜂鋒芳封　捧封　峯捧封　芳封

妃芳微　斐微　紛芳文　忿文　孚文　拂文　紡文　幡旛妨袁　孚袁　翻福風伏　楓?

本類發字以上十六字，字母家定爲非母（附次福楓二字，亦屬此系。）發以下十七字，定爲敷母。慧琳注音，潘字敷發共切，芬字方芳同用，斐字並切非字，番字取音坂𩐁。觀此四字，慧琳所據之音，非敷二母，乃通合爲一也。（非敷二母，音發脣齒：發送之辨〔發送之說，竊取審之方氏，此於語音學上，即不

吐氣 unspirated 與吐氣 aspirated 之意也〕，於今方音，既少取證，驗之口吻，亦未易緣造。慧琳引切，非敷通類，語音變遷史中特有之現象也。）

總本類反切上字，共四十六字。無切微引者十一字，錄後：

付坊粉舫法颩否妨芳捧忿

扶類

扶鳧(音扶) 附扶 輔膚 父于 苻輔袁 煩繁 扶袁 飯袁 伐袁 伐襏(音伐) 煩戰 飯餅 煩晚 樊晚 樊 伐袁 肥 扶肥 符肥 憤 扶粉 墳粉 墳 扶聞 焚 扶文

浮聞 輔文 輔 扶禹 伏 輔腹 馮福 奉 馮勇 浮捧 縫 奉峯 伏鬈 符峯 培 附 符遇 扶務 房 防(音房) 符亡 縛亡 縛 房博 分 防聞 扶聞 墳聞 焚聞 汾聞 汾 佛聞 浮

附無 輔無 範 扶黯 凡黯

本類反切上字，共二十六字。無切微引者五字，錄後：

父符逢凡佛

武類

武䃂(音武) 無甫 無 蕪(音無) 武甫 舞 廡(音舞) 無甫 罔 網 無倣 武昉 亡倣 罔 無昉 芒 武方 網方 忘 武坊 罔方 刎 忘粉 勿粉 聞粉 亡粉 吻 聞粉

文粉 武粉 文 蚊(音文) 武分 刎分 吻分 勿分 問 紊(音問) 聞憤 望 武坊 罔方 韈 襪 望發 晚發 万發 萬 万 曼(音万) 韈販 晚 挽(音晚) 武滿 無遠

萬坂 罔板

尾 亹(音尾) 微匪 微 尾非

總本類反切上字，共二十一字。無切微引者六字，錄後：

味巫勿聞問物

一切經音義反切聲類，與陳蘭甫切韻攷聲類比較，語其類，切韻聲類四十（明微宜分，應爲四十一類），而是編定爲三十六。其內容之分合，語其同，喻與于，莊與照，楚與穿，乘與牀，沙與審之分界，與切韻無殊。語其異，禪乘渾一，泥孃同聲，從邪似合，非敷交切，唇音輕重，切韻未見其分，蛻化之跡，又嘗以是編爲創見。此景審叙一切經音義云，"武緜非雙聲，"有以也。

惟是編尤可驚異者用等韻之說（切韻指掌圖），施於切韻，良多躓礙，施諸是編，每合條理。通觀諸類分析之系，多以異等，致形畛域。一二等字，聲類與共。三四等，各別爲系。雖復時見踰越，而條理甚明。切韻則不然，凡同聲類字，用等排次，則切語上字，如有緒之絲，加治益棼。例如十二齊，皆四等字也，用古切雞，用苦切谿，用五切倪，用都切低，用土切梯，用奴切泥，用部切鼙，用莫切迷，用祖切

齋，用祖切齊，用烏切鷖，用呼切醯，用胡切奚，用郎切黎，俱以一等爲上字，與十一模韻字之切，固同條共貫也，而兩韻之等位迥殊。按王仁煦刊謬補缺切韻平韻韻目存錄之注，"二冬，無上聲，陽（陽休之韻略）與鍾江同，呂（呂靜韻集）夏侯（夏侯該韻略）別，今依呂夏侯。""十八眞，呂與文同，夏侯陽杜（杜臺卿韻略）別，今依夏陽杜。""十九臻，無上聲，呂陽杜與眞同韻，今依夏。"然則法言切韻，非純據當時之音而作，其摺選諸家舊韻，蓋不僅此數目已也。切韻之音，存古既多，範以指掌圖，其鑿枘也，固無足怪。慧琳引據元廷堅韻英，廷堅所據，與指掌圖韻等相契，則其時之音流入晚近，固因是而決。惟今日所見之指掌圖南海鄒特夫頗疑爲楊中修切韻類例改併失眞之僞本。近人依宋元諸家等韻書，比較韻類分合之迹，及入聲兼承陰陽之異，是書作期，更移後爲宋季之作。廷堅書遠在三四百年之上(天寶十四年)，其所據之音，爲是時之關中音，何爲與切韻指掌圖之韻等能相契合，乃語音變遷史上至可驚疑之事也。(攷楊中修爲北宋弘農人。弘農關中地也。中修所據以區分切韻者，或亦關中音。其所定之韻類雖經改併，而韵等猶未紊亂，致能上下相承，投合無間與？此尚有待於攷索者也。)

又按慧琳所引切語，其上下字定聲協韻之外，又須韻等均一，遂使一聲類又分數系。聲以韵殊，乃亦自來治音韵學者未或知也。蓋此種跡象，本諸音理，固不背謬。即證集韵，旨趣亦同。先以音理言之，凡同聲類字，其所綴元音有高低洪微之變，即能影響於所發之聲。等韵縱列四等，所以示能辨之韻音之高低也。(韵音之高低，言發韵時舌面之高低發生共鳴音高之上下也。等韵家云。一等洪大，二等次大，三四等細，四等尤細者，義殆相同。)諸三四等字，皆有近顎音性之介母，而一二等則無之，聲以韻異，此最淺顯之事也。反切以兩字譬況一音，分別其性質言之，則曰上字定聲，下字定韻。若就其結合言之，則宜上下字又須韻等均一，而後被切之音，試口易出。此慧琳引切之聲類，以韻等分系，乃音理上自然之勢也。更取集韵參證之。集韻韻例云，"凡字之反切，舊以武代某，以亡代茫，謂之類隔，今皆用本字。"此言脣音變化輕重，舊切宜加改易之見端耳。細檢各韻部音切，與切韻比較，其改易者，大都以切韻之反切上字與下字韻等不合使之均一爲主要之因。仍以齊韵字爲例，雞堅奚切，谿牽奚切，倪研奚切，低都黎切(此切例外)，梯天黎切，泥年題切，

嵰騈迷切，迷緜批切，齎牋西切，薺前西切，鷖煙前切，醯馨奚切，奚弦鷄切，黎憐題切。諸切上字，切韵用一等字者，於此盡改用四等，與下字均一。此與慧琳引切，規制正復相同。據此則慧琳引據之韻英，其根據之秦音，今定爲晚近音之導源也。可無疑義矣。而出切引聲，上下字須同韵等，謂爲定切之原則，亦無不可。切韵之音切，與此剌謬者，非定切原則之咎，實晚近音與較古之音演變致之。

記猓玀音　　史祿國

PHONETIC NOTES ON A LOLO DIALECT AND CONSONANT L.

By S. M. Shirokogoroff

I. INTRODUCTION

The Lolo dialect here discussed* is spoken by the Lolos (**ŋoso-in** Lolo)** living in south eastern part of Yunnan, namely near the small

*One of the purposes of my recent visit (1928) to Yunnan was to investigate the Lolos living in the south-eastern part of this province. As this work, owing to the temporary local conditions in this region, could not be carried out as I had originally intended, I confined it to what was accessible at the spot. In Yunnanfu, I found a Lolo family, native of the above indicated region, consisting of five adult women, a young man, and two children. All of them used their mother tongue in the family, and when visiting **bušid'i,** but used Chinese when dealing with the Chinese. During my work in this family, practically all members were present, which permitted me to check up individual pronunciation. The time at my disposal and the character of the material did not permit me to gather a very great amount of material. Looking over this material, however, I have found it interesting from the linguistic point of view and thus worthy of being published.

They use this name for designating their own group and the Lolos in general. The names used by the Lolos for themselves as seen amongst various groups are numerous, but most of Lolo groups use one which lies within the phonetic complex where the initial consonant is either **ŋ or **n,** or rarely **l.** The following vowel also varies: one meets with **o, u, i, a, e.** The first syllable **ŋo** with its variations has been translated as "black" (cf. A. Liétard, Au Yunnan, pp. 28 et seq.). However, the first syllable of their names and the word used for "black" do not always coincide, e. g. in Buš. dialect where "Lolo" is **ŋoso,** "black" is **no,** and **ŋo** is, for instance "five"; in Ni dialect "Lolo" is **n'i** (ꆈ) and "black" is **ne** (Vial's transcription neè—ꋍ). In order to warrant against misinterpretation of their name P. Vial (Dictionnaire, p. 81) has given a very important explanation which I permit myself to reproduce in full. "Les Lolos n'ont aucun terme qui puisse s'appliquer à toute une nation ou une race d'hommes, pas plus pour les autres que pour eux. Les peuples se divisent simplement en tribus, et chaque tribu porte son qualificatif. En pratique, chez Lolos, chaque tribu ne connait que les tribus qui l'environnent; au-delà de cet horizon, elle ignore

city of Posi (in Lolo—**bušid'i**). This group, ethnographically speaking is in the process of gradual ethnical desintegration which is also true of most Lolo groups of Yunnan. Two neighbouring Lolo dialects have been investigated by P. Vial and A. Liétard. The first has investigated the dialect styled by him Ni (gni of his transcription), the name which I shall preserve in this paper, spoken by the Lolos living in 路南州, 陸涼州 and 廣西州 a region* lying north from that of Bas dialect region, and the second has investigated the dialect styled by this author Ahi, the name which I shall also preserve, spoken by a small group of Lolos living in 路南州, also near 瀰勒, south from the Ni dialect and north from the Baś dialect.**

tout. Dans les livres, l'écrivain emploie le nom de sa tribu dans un sens restreint, s'il s'agit d'une histoire particulière; tantôt dans un sens général, si l'histoire s'applique a l'ensemble de la race." It is evident that in Ni dialect n'ı is used in reference to the speaker's group first, and to all Lolos he knows. It holds good for all Lolo dialects if they are actually Lolo dialects and not dialects of groups included into the Lolos by other ethnical groups, e. g. the Chinese. The syllable varies, but the stem remains the same. Nearly the same phenomenon is observed in the Northern Tungus dialects where the names for the Northern Tungus are invariably derived from **even** and very rarely substituted by non-Tungus names (cf. my Social Organization of the Northern Tungus, pp. 50 et seq.). A. Liétard has also interpreted the second syllable (in the Lolo dialects of Szechuen) **so** as "man, person." This may be true of some dialects, but again in Baš, dialect no such a meaning for **so** is found, while in Ni dialect **co** (Vial's transcription, ts'e) is not common in the above sense and altogether lacking in the name of people Lolo. It may be thus formulated: **ŋo** (with its variations) + **so** (with its variations, and sometimes lacking altogether) seems to be the name by which the Lolos style themselves, but its meaning cannot be etymologically understood. Moreover this name among some groups is of little use. The problem is also complicated by the fact of some supposed to be Lolo groups being included into "Lolos" in former times by the Lolos themselves and later by foreigners, who did not distinguish ethnical relations which existed between the Lolos and other groups sometimes controlled by the Lolos. This also has its analogy in the ethnography of the northern regions of China. The name **ŋoso** (and variations) may be of a political origin (like "Manchu"), it may be given by neighbours (like "Tungus"), and it may as well be a name preserved from the immemorial time (like "**even**").

*P. Vial, Dictionnaire, and earlier publication, Les Lolos.

**A. Liétard, Essai, and Vocabulaire, also Notions de grammaire. Only a part of 路南州 is evidently occupied by the Lolos speaking Ahi dialect, for P. Vial mentions the same 州. As will be shown, these two dialects are different.

A. Liétard has also investigated the Lo-lo-po dialect of western Yunnan, but no dictionary has been published*.

The Lolo writing system, as it is now used, is based upon phonetic principle; but the reading of characters varies among different groups. As to the origin of the characters from ideogrammes, according to P. Vial, there is no doubt about it. In fact, he gives a list of characters some of which (not all quoted by him, I believe) may be connected with the ideas expressed by the corresponding monosyllable words**, but considering the fact of a complete disconnexion between the characters, now phonetically used, and phenomena designated*** these characters may also be supposed to be borrowed from the actual inventors of ideogrammes, some other people, perhaps of the same origin (linguistically), but distinct from Ni. The phonetic equivalents of these characters thus were at a remote time borrowed by the Lolos. According to P. Vial, the number of characters is no more than three thousand, of them in Ni dialect one hundred and eighty characters are used for phonetic transcription of the actual sounds which in this way are sometimes increased by vowels contained in written syllables. The fact of using a syllabic system of writing has caused P. Vial and A. Liétard to see a monosyllabic basis of these dialects and to cut words into syllables as it is practised in European transliterations of the Chinese characters. From the above facts, it is evident that the value of written Lolo language has a very limited importance for my purpose.

The connexion of the Lolo language with other asiatic languages has been definitely established. It is connected with the Tibeto-Burman

*There are some other material which is not sufficient for comparative purpose. For instance, Cl. Madrolle (Quelques peuplades Lolo) has given some words of eleven (Ni dialect included) groups. I now mention this publication for I shall quote it once more The details regarding early information about the Lolos may be found in a paper by H. Cordier (Les lolos. Etat actuel). Moreover, the languages Moso and Si-hia, closely related to Lolo, though investigated, could not be compared with Buš. dialect.

**Cf. P. Vial, Les Lolos, p. 39 et seq.

***e. g. numerals, the sun, the man, the woman, etc.

larger group in which it forms a group by itself with several dialects. The Moso and old Si-hia languages are also included in the Lolo group*.

P. Vial and A. Liétard were quite definite in their assertion of a monosyllabic character of the Lolo language. The polysyllabic words were thus explained as syllables just put together. Besides, the theory as to the monosyllabic character of all Sino-Tibetan languages which influenced these authors, this idea has found a strong support from the Lolo writing system, based, as stated, upon the syllabic principle. In fact, when the Lolo is writing, he has to decompose the complex sounds into the nearest phonetic elements found in characters. Owing to this, both consonantal and vowel clusters cannot be phonetically expressed unless one adopts a new conventional reading of characters. P. Vial in the first half of his dictionary has taken into brakets the vowels that are not pronounced**. Unfortunately in the second half of the same dictionary he has omitted them. The using of two characters has been explained as combination of two stems***. Yet even in the case of di-syllabic

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* J. Przyluski (Les langues du monde, p. 369) has included these two languages into the Lolo group. Cf. also N. Nevsky. B. Laufer (The Si-hia Language) has considered Si-hia as a language by itself, showing affinities with Lolo and Moso within the Tibeto-Burman "family," and all of them included into "Indo-Chinese," about which J. Przyluski says "il ne peut être question de faire actuellement la théorie du sino-tibétain commun" (op. cit. p. 361). The classification of the Lolo dialects is far from being completed. Their classification is still hindered by the fact that some groups now classified among the Lolos may happen to be non-Lolos, but only controlled by them, and yet some other groups which have changed their language. The instances of Tungus (they are so styled) who speak Mongol (Buriat), e.g. in Transbaikalia, Nomad Tungus, shows that a group may be considered as belonging to certain ethnically larger unit by the tradition, and not by the language spoken. Yet the cases vise versa are common, too.

** Cf. Dictionnaire, p. 9, his remarques très importantes.

*** The monosyllabic stems may be increased by prefixes and suffixes mistaken for distinct "stems." On the other hand, the phonetic syllabic system when meeting with the initial consonantal clusters may mislead when they are expressed by two characters understood as "stems" and morphological parts. The same may happen with the Lolos when they forget the conventional new reading of characters when used in combinations with other characters. From the psychological point of view it is curious that the Manchus being familiar with the syllabic system (from their previous

words, where the stem may be distinguished from the second component (the latter may be either another stem, or prefix, or suffix) the written syllables have nothing but phonetic meaning. Therefore one cannot make a conclusion as to the monosyllabic character of Lolo word formation*. The further analysis of Lolo will show perhaps that there are not only monosyllabic but also di-syllabic stems. As to the words, there are di- and tri-syllabic ones which are used as such**. A large number of word is composed of syllables and morphological parts, like suffixes and prefixes agglutinated. Yet some, especially monosyllabic words, may take meaning of nouns and verbs which depends upon the place of the word in the sentence. If such a word is incorporated either into a polysyllabic word or between the noun (also pronoun) and verb (according to the

experience with the Chinese characters and various attempts at the creation of syllabic writing from the Chinese characters) of twenty six letters of their alphabet made over thousand combinations with which almost all possible consonantal and vowel clusters could be expressed. However, not all combinations, even of their own language, could be forseen whence clumsy spelling sometimes originated. Those Manchus who did not know their own language, as it was common among the Manchus living in China, used to read the syllabic combinations one by one pronouncing all the syllables according to the rules, and even cutting off the suffixes when written separately. This reading was just as P. V i a l's transliteration of the Lolo characters. However, the Manchu syllabic system was much more superior to that of the Lolos, for the former did solve the problem of a moderate accumulation of vowels and consonants in clusters.

*I have detained such a long time on the opinion of the first investigators of the Lolo language, for this opinion has greatly affected their records by cutting words in a syllabic manner, while there might be no voiced elements contained to form a syllable. This idea was so strong that J. Bacot, who had investigated the Moso dialect (cf. Toung Pao, Vol. XII, 1911, p. 296) when the mono-syllabism could not be disclosed said: "la langue Moso est actuellement polysyllabique," leaving to understand that it was not so before.

**Indeed, in the living languages there are words and not stems and morphological parts. In other languages like Indo-European, Finno-Ugrian, Altaic, Tungus, etc. the stems are very often monosyllabic, but words containing one syllable are very rare. In Lolo, the number of monosyllabic stems and words may be still higher, for, as will be shown, this language possesses quantity and tones which permit additional combinations. Still this language possesses a large number of particles (e. g. a great number of these used for counting) in order to give a definite meaning to the short words and avoid monosyllabism.

principle well known in all Tibeto-Burman languages) in a written form, it naturally remains a monosyllabic one. However, when pronounced it is included into the polysyllabic word or long word-sentence, and therefore, as will be later shown, is subject to the changes of quantity, tone and stress of vowels and consonants. Such a syllable cannot be thus considered as a word, for taken alone it has no meaning at all, or it may have many a meaning not being at the same time a morphological element.

The incorporation has been understood by P. Vial as a peculiar form of Lolo word order in sentences when "double verbs" are used. He has quoted a list of "doubled" verbs* which as a rule incorporate objective. This list may be enlarged, indeed.** As the stem syllable is getting verb ist with the nouns (and pronouns) the former cannot be considered as a verb existing quite independently, so the idea of word order,-noun (pronoun)-objective- verb,- perhaps may be also regarded as a particular form of incorporation. In fact, as stated, a complex sentence-word is pronounced as one word in accordance with which the stress is laid upon one of syllables, and the quantity, also tone, of other syllables may vary.

To the above general characteristic of Lolo it ought to be added, that this language possesses a quite well developed system of suffixes in nouns, pronouns and verbs, also a large number of suffixes of derivation. These suffixes, especially when written separately,*** in other dialects have

*Cf. Grammar, in Dictionnaire, p. 48. He has tried to give absolute meaning of all syllables of which di-syllabic verbs consist. In many instances however, it was absolutely impossible, so his interpretation of this phenomenon is very clumsy, and still more some of his translations word by word.

**A Liétard has also made an attempt at the analysis of the "verbes composés" (cf. Grammaire, p. 290), but he has not been satisfied himself with this attempt. In the Lolopo dialect he has also met with the same difficulty in the case of the use of the suffix of negation, so he has made a list of "exceptions" when negative suffix is incorported in di-syllabic verbs (cf. Au Yunnan, p. 243).

***The Manchus for instance sometimes also write suffixes separately e g. bè, dè, ci, i, n'i, and composite ones, but they never separate them in reading (unless the reader is sinofied), and the European scholars have understand them as agglutinating suffixes and not particles. However, among the sinofied Manchus they are sometimes treated as particles and read separately as the Chinese do.

been understood as particles different as to their function when compared with the agglutinative languages. However, in Lolo several suffixes may be agglutinated to a stem. The lists of suffixes in the Ahi, Ni and Lolopo dialects may be found, but true they are not always presented in a clear form*. In the case when the speaker does not need them for expressing his idea, he does not use them even if the suffix might be required in typically agglutinative languages**. On the other hand, when the speaker needs, he is allowed to agglutinate several suffixes to the same stem, as it is also observed in typically agglutinative languages.

The above facts shown are sufficient for forming a general idea as to the Lolo dialect treated in this paper. It may be classified as a langage (1) belonging to the Tibeto-Burman group, the Lolo subdivision; (2) possessing several syllables in words when needed; (3) possessing a well developed system of suffixes and prefixes agglutinated to the stem: and derivatives: (4) using, in a limited manner, the incorporation in polysyllabic words and very commonly in the system of word-order in sentences.

*J. Bacot (cf. Les Moso,) has treated them as suffixes.

**In typically agglutinative languages as the Northern Tungus are, the omission of suffixes is very common when the sentence may be understood without them. In Manchu Spoken this phenomenon is still more common than in the Northern Tungus.

II

PHONETIC SYSTEM OF THE BUŠ DIALECT

I. Quantity, Tone and Accent of the Vowels.

In this dialect one may distinguish three conditions defining the character of the vowels regardless of their articulation, viz. the quantity, tone and stress.

§ 1 **Quantity.** There are long (¯), medium ( ) and short (˘) vowels.

Note: this definition is, of course, very approximate, for one cannot put exactly the boundaries between these three classes. Yet, sometimes the vowel may be longer or shorter absolutely speaking, which depends upon the tempo of speech, individual and subject of speech, also place in the sentence.

Examples:
- a **ācov'i** (violet), **aćumo** (bride), **siăn** (elephant)
- e **nōpɜ** (ear), **ɟeli** (shoulder), **ñė** (two)
- o **ćmó** (bamboo), **toŋ** (thousand), **ŋsc** (green)
- u **kŭ** (pali rim), **koduso** (to malk), **kú** (!) (horn)
- i **ćɪmo** (goat male), **si** (seven), **dei** (to beat), **zibo** (river)
- y **natȳ** (father), **mytỳʒa** (sparkle), **kɟn** (he, she)

however, **ŏ** and **ė** seem to have only medium quantity*. e.g.
- ċ **nobe** (nose)
- e **luʒe** (bridge)

§ 2 **Tone.** The tone of vowels of the same articulation is subject to variations. One may distinguish vowels of low and high tone, also vowels on which no musical accent is heard. The difference between the low and high tones seems to be a quint.

Examples: **gćmó** (plough), no difference in tone, but in **sȳkɜ** (bark) e is higher than **y**, in **dcby** (honey) **y** is lower than **o**, though the quantity in all cases is the same.

*Perhaps more numerous material would give instances of long and short vowels of these articulations. As will be later shown, these vowels are rather rare in this dialects.

1. In monosyllabic words the tone may also be either low, e.g. **dō** (bee), **ɤō** (snow), **mō** (horse), **iā** (to-day), or it may be high, e.g. **ān'** (yesterday).

The low and high tone may be combined with the long and short vowels.

2. in di-syllabic words, e.g.
sŷke (bark), **leaē** (hair on the body), **cabē** (sedan chair), **pōli** (father's junior brother's son), **mlé** (cow skin),* **r̥mō** (cow),* where the second vowel is higher than the first one and quantities are different, on the other hand, e.g.
dō ŷy (honey comb), **ndō** (chair),* where the first vowel and **n** are higher than the second one.

3. in try-syllabic words the same cases are seen as in di-syllabic words, e.g. **n'ećoty** (rock), where **y** is higher in tone. However in tri-syllabic words, just as in sentences (vide § 4) if there is stress on one of vowels the others may be affected by weakening, they are getting shorter and lose the musical accent.

§ 3 **Stress.** The stress is used very commonly. There are stresses laid upon (1) one of syllables of di- or tri-syllabic words when they are of the same quantitative value and tone, e.g. **mytýza** (sparkle), **n'ɛmē** (sweet potato), **citō̆ŋ** (one thousand), also words which are composed of syllables containing vowels of different quantity and tone, e.g. **cikuʎe** (nineteen), **ā̆ɛɪcimō** (twenty one) and (2) on monosyllabic words which then produce impression of an emphatic pronounciation, e.g. **áwn** (father's brother's wife), **k̄** (nine).

The stress can be thus laid upon long, medium, and short vowels of low and high tone.

*Though **mle**, **ŋmō** and **ndō** include only one vowel each, the nasal consonants **m**, **ŋ** and **n** are distinguished as to to their tones, therefore I have included them in the class of di-syllabic cases. The difference in tone in the case of **mle** is exactly a quint.

Note 1. There seems to be a tendency in using stress, namely the final short high vowels are very often stressed. When the vowel is neither stressed nor accentuated by a fixed tone it has a definite tendency of disappearing when in combinations with other syllables forming polysyllabic words and in sentences, e.g. such is the case of **ci (mɔ)** (one) (in combinations **-mɔ**, which is a suffix, is omitted), **ǹě** (two), where the vowels disappear altogether.* Such is probably the case of words like **ŋ̥** (ox) and the like.

Note 2. There seems to be another tendency, namely, of laying stress upon one of the syllables when all of them, in polysyllabic words forming a word (and sentence-word), have the same quantity and tone, as in the case of **mýtyza** (sparkle) the choice of the syllable which is stressed depends thus upon the phrase as a whole and seems to be closely connected with the musical form of this dialect, in general.

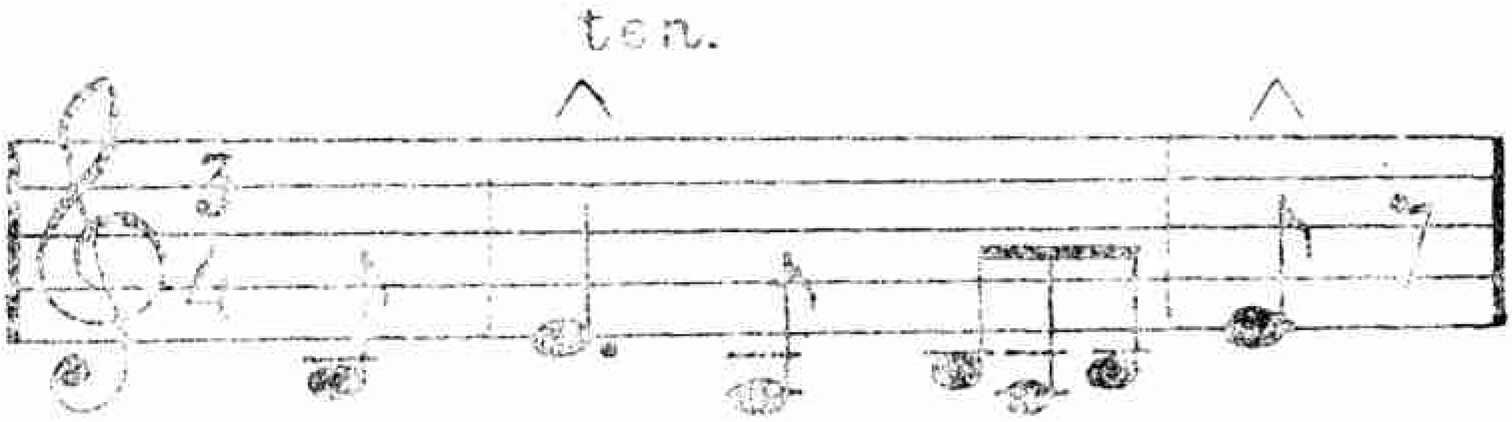
Note 3. There remain certain words stressed (vide supra § 3,2), but they seem to be used in the narrow sense they contain: **áwn** (an important term of relationship), **k̆ǝ** (a numeral, relatively rarely used and containing no other meaning, contrary to the case of **ci**, "one" and indefinite article, and **ńě** "two" and "pair", "couple").

§ 4 **Musical system.** The musical system is very essential element in this dialect. The quantity and tones may change the meaning of the phonetic complex, so for instance in **citǒŋ** and **citoŋ**, in the first case "one thousand" and in the second case "ten thousand" quantity changes though **toŋ** is the same word, but in the case of **iǹ**, "to-day," and **iń**, "yesterday" the tones are different. In a sentence the tones being preserved may take different **relative** value owing to

*A similar process takes place in Tibetan, I think.

the quantitative value and stress of vowels and voiced consonants which do play the part of musically marked components.

Examples 1. **noa as'i kolija** (I shall to-morrow cook) the musical phrase consists in a gradual rising of the tone from A to G: 2. **x'eŋgo p'ikole** (the door shut, i.e. shut the door) the first part **x'eŋgo p'i-** remains under the same musical tone, but beginning from **i** it is getting lower, attaining its minimum at **l**, and then again rises up passing over the initial tone of **x'eŋgo**; 2. **ta ė azo aǯuλá** (dont' cry, child) which is still more complex as it is shown in musical symbols.



The above instances show that the quantity, musical tone and stress may be combined. It is difficult, sometimes, to find the actual nature of sounds taken out of text. Yet, the musical expression as a whole sometimes also affects the original nature of sounds, for instance in the case of question, disapproval, doubt, and order.

REMARKS: To § § 1, 2, 3 and 4. The nature of sounds as shown is not stabilized, petrified. The four tones of Chinese (mandarin) cannot be applied to this system for (1) the quantity may be combined with different tones, (2) the musical nature of the Chinese tones is sometimes more complex than that of this dialect. So, as stated, the sounds low, medium and high of this dialect may be long and short but they are made of simple tones, as it is, for instance in Japanese where every vowel supposed to have its own tone, which again is not characteristic of this dialect.

II. VOWELS.

§ 5. Non-labilized vowels.

1. a mid-back-wide (with a tendency to low-back-wide shown as **a**) it may be of different quantity, tone and stress, met with in all positions, e.g. **amo** (mother), **aka** (bucket) **ċafun'epa** (window) (**â** is met with chiefly with the consonants of cerebral and backed articulation: it is rather rare so I have no indications regarding quantity and tone: e.g. **ala** (mother's mother), **x'eŋgotuda** (the door bar).

2. ä low-front-narrow: this vowel seems to have no low tone, but high and usually medium: it has been observed as initial: e.g. **ēlä** (goose), **ikä** (head), **nȧnä** (snot).

3. e mid-front-wide: it may vary in quantity, tone and stress: it is met with in all positions, but rather rare as initial: e.g. **ēlä** (goose), **ge** (leg), **v'e** (ig), **sib'ė** (soil), **k'egeca** (dirty), **lemo** (thumb), **λe λe** (to come) (it is very common in combinations with **k, g, x, l, n**).

4. ə high-mixed-narrow: no variations as to the quantity and tone have been found; it has not been met with as initial one: it seems to be always stressed: c.f. **aməŋ** (the father's mother), **aɟcə** (evening), **itè** (hat), **kə** (mountain), **mėte** (fire).

5. i high-front-narrow, also sometimes high-front-wide: the variations depend upon the articulation of the preceding consonant, both of them show variations as to the quantity, tone and stress, but **i** is rarely met as initial: the latter is met with in the diphthongs: e.g. **ciŋ** (root), **jiŋvuka** (fibre/bone/ of tobacco leaf), **cop'i** (hand): also **cimeŋ** (old), **cisi** (claw), **dige** (stair case), **kopcci** (Adam apple): and **sy̆ɟaɪ** (tree), **n'ibucaɪ** (brow).

6. y high-mixed-wide: it may differ as to the quantity, tone and stress: it is met with in all positions, except initial; e.g. **apy**

(abdomen), **buzo** (island), **cydu** (the well), **aynyx'e** (morning), **sȳ** (wood), **xy** (iron).

§ 6. **Labilized vowels.**

1. **c** mid-back-wide-round: it may differ as to the quantity, tone and stress: it is met with in all positions; e.g. **omé** (a kind of bamboo), **sć** (blood), **ŋo** (five), **n'ilo** (red), **m'eho** (buttock), **koču** (tray), **sč** (snow).*
2. **o** mid-front-wide-round: no difference in quantity, tone and stress has been found: it is met with in all positions; **öpa** (duck), **v'erjö** (wild boar), **nöbe** (nose), **növö** (side), **nöbepaŋ** (nostril).
3. **u** high-back-wide-round; it may differ as to the quantity, tone and stress: it is met with in all positions; e.g. **uhumo** (owl), **šu** (to cry), **pu** (suffix, "male"), **sexu** (to sweep), **zomesovŭ** (daughter), **ká** (!) (horn), **cacá** (table), **baʒu** (shrimps).**

§ 7. **Diphtongues.**

1. **a͡ɔ**, e.g. **ba͡ɔta** (many storied pagoda) (this may be a loan-word, I have no other instances).
2. **o͡a**, e.g. **ʒoxo͡a** (/I/ have eaten) (this diphtong is very often met with in verbs to get the idea of an accomplished action, also in some other cases, cf. § 4, example 1, where **ŋo** is increased with an a forming a diphtong; also § 5, 1, Footnote).
3. **u͡a**, e.g. **sixu͡a** (to die), **waću͡an** (brick).
4. **i** in all cases of combinations with the vowels may be regarded as component of diphtongs, e.g. **dei** (to beat), **ɬob'iu***** (cousin?) **maiźumo** (widow), also cf. § 5, 5-i.

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*There is another **o** designated as **ô**, which is somewhat more back, but it is met with very rarely, e.g. **ž dô** (drink) (**aćôa**-i dont' want to drink).

There are two more variations of **u, namely **u̇** and **ü**, the first being mixed and second front, both high-wide-round. **u̇** is higher in tone than **u**, and **ü** is higher than **u̇**; e.g. **sosoru̇** (to read). I believe **ü** is met with only in the loan words of Chinese origin.

***In this particular case **i** is not **j** what one might expect to have.

III. CONSONANTS.

§ 8. Consonants in general.

Certain quantity, tone and stress in this dialect may be given to the consonants mediae lenes. In § 4 we have already seen some instances of it. The greatest variations are naturally met with in nasal and liquid consonants, like **m**, **n**, **ŋ**, **l**, **ɬ** and **λ** which may be long and short. They may sometimes play part of vowels in clusters with tenues, especially in words (and suffixes) without vowels. The same consonants are also affected by the musical accent especially in sentences.

The tenues consonants may also vary, but in a much lesser degree as to their quantity. No such case is met with the occlusive. The emphatic (stress) pronunciation of consonants is also common. They may sometimes produce impression of being "doubled."

§ 9. Labial consonants.

1. b bilabial, occlusive, mediae lenes: e.g. **bonego** (knee), **λēbō** (moon), **nbe** (nose), **dōbȳ** (honey): when palatalized: **be** (to speak), **labe** (neck): when getting almost tenues and aspirated: **bè** (mountain), **busid'i** (Posi), **beli** (shoulder): no palatalized **b** has been found.
2. p bilabial, occlusive, tenues: it is sometimes slightly aspirated: e.g. **poli** (glass), **pu** (suffix, "male"): when palatalized: **p'e** (leaf), **p'i** (back), **p'i** (to push), **lop'e** (blue).
3. w bilabial, spirant, mediae lenes: e.g. **wu** (roof), **āwn** (father's father's wife), **godow** (road): no palatalized **w** has been found.
4. v labio-dental, spirant, mediae-lenes: e.g. **vāʒemo** (carp), **zomesćvɿ** (daughter): when palatalized: **v'ē** (pig), **v'i** (wolf, hunting dog), **nev'i** (flower).
6. f labio-dental, spirant, tenues: e.g. **facu** (wood),* **limefoŋ** (son's son's wife), **mefu** (snake): no palatalized **f** has been found.

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*This may be a Chinese lone-word.

§ 19. Dental Consonants.

1. ŧ occlusive tennes: e.g. **taze** (saliva), **tamo** (father's sister), **to** (stair), **ŧyte** (to talk), **tuŋ** (hotel): when palatalized: **t'i** (theshold): when cerebralized: **aŧā** (mother's mother), **geŧu** (plant of foot), **lalaŧe** (to run), **iŧè** (hat).

2. d occlusive, mediae lenes: e.g. **dige** (stair case), **ligädö** (rudder), **ćidepó** (stockings): no cases of palatalized **d** have been found; when cerebralized: **cidi*** (eleven).

§ 11. Alveolar Consonents.

1. s spirant, (high), tennes: e.g. **sā** (three), **s̈ze** (wooden bridge); when palatalized: **s'é** (woman's dress), **s'in'igo** (to breath).

2. z spirant, (high), mediae lenes: e.g. **zā** (tiger), **azo** (young, small sister, brother), **z̃ezo** (incisor): no palatalised consonant has been found.

3. š spirant, (low), tennes: e.g. **śa** (coast, land), **še** (gold), **ši** (seven), **šu** (to cry): when palatalized: **š'igu** (lung).

4. ž spirant, (low), mediae lenes: e.g. **žigo** (stream), **ži** (to drink), **žecyle** (to wash), **žymo** (money): no palatalized consonant has been found.

§ 12. Affricate Consonants.

1. c (high), tennes: e.g. **cāeá** (table), **cēro** (charcoal). **cevu** (to call), **cɪ** (λe) (ten), **co** (soil, ground?).

2. č (low) tennes: e.g. **če** (dog), **čina** (shoe), **gečn** (toy), **gegeča** (very nice): when palatalized: **č'iŋ** (root), **č'iǯŏ** (rope).

3. ʒ (high), mediae lenes: e.g. **ʒe** (stem of a plant), **ʒoʒo** (to eat); when palatalized: **ʒ'igo duyo** (to marry).

4. ǯ (low), mediae lenes: e.g. **ǯe** (brass), **ǯi** (wine), **ǯu** (buttock), (lower part): when palatalized: **ǯ'e** (tooth).

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*In my records I find only this instance of cerebralized d. Since in the above quoted case **cidi** (eleven) the word consists of **ci** (**mò**) (one) and **ci** (ten), the existance of **ḋ** must be supported by other evidences. cf. in Ahi and Ni dialects "one" is "t'i."

§ 13. Glottal (back) Consonants.

1. **k** occlusive, tenues: **ko** (year), **ki** (he, she)* **ko?e** (neck), when palatalized: **k'ezó** (star), **k'egeča** (dirty): when aspirated: **ka** (ice), **ku** (six).

2. **g** occlusive, mediae lenes, e.g. **gemo** (small toy), **gy** (to give), **argo** (fish), sometimes it is very short, e.g. **ku̯gele** (wooden post): when aspirated: **ġedow** (road), **ġuh**** (wheel).

3. **x** spirant, tenues: e.g. **xō** (flesh), **xč** (hundred), **xuxu** (all together) when palatalized: **x'e** (snake), **x'eŋ** (house).

4. **ɣ** spirant, mediae lenes: e.g. **ɣe** (large, big), **ɣč** (snow), **ɣčhuɣa** (to be satieted).

§ 14. Liquid Consonants.

1. **m** bilabial, nasal: e.g. **maʒo** (wife), **me** (to blow), **moli** (father's junior brother): when palatalized: **m'ěbo** (rump), **m'i** (field).

2. **n** dental, nasal, e.g. **nādo** (back), **namo** (mother), **neca** (to live), **noca** (ear-ring), **nȳtu** (tea), **gegećen** (very handsome), **ańn** (buffalo): when palatalized: **n'e** (crane), **n'en'e** (face), **n'i** (thou) **n'iki** (eye lid), **n'p'e** (beak), **n'do** (seat): when long: **n̄do** (chair), **n'mo** (heart), **n̄ci** (twenty), **n̄ki** (sky), **n̄n'** (yester-day), **n̄á** (ground, floor), **n̄toŋ** (chest), **cyn̄** (day) **an̄'** (father's sister's husband).

3. **ŋ** glottal (back), nasal, e.g. **ŋ** (ox), **cŋ** (small), **ŋ** (to be) **ŋx'e** (rat), **ŋx'i** (eight), **ŋxopo** (mosquito), **koŋxo** (Yunnanfu), **ʎaxoŋ** (hat, round, large); when long: **aŋtu** (thunder).

4. **l** lateral, alveolar, (high) (palatalized l): e.g. **lab'e** (neck), **le** (skin), **leču** (finger) **lme** (son's daughter), **lic** (head dress-turban).

*Cf. also **kya** (he, she).
**Loan-word from Chinese.

5. λ lateral, cerebral, (low): e.g. **λeλe** (to come), **λobe** (stone), **λose** (sun), **λu** (throw away), **λopaje** (tobacco), **puλa** (name of people living near Montse-Yunnan).

6. ł lateral, alveolar, (low); e.g. **łopačiŋ** (tendon), **łobio** (cousin?), **tełaze** (to take), **ʒokoła** (to cook), **kù(ł)** (horn), **n'ipu(ł)** (forehead), **n'idu(ł)** (eye) (cf. § 16, ł).

§ 15. Varia Consonants.

TABLE I.

Consonants

Character	Articulation	Labial: Bilabial	Labial: Labio-dental	Glossal: Frontal: Dental	Glossal: Frontal: Alveolar	Glossal: Mid: Glottal	Glossal: Back: Back glottal	Glossal: Back: Velar	Laringeal: Laringeal
Occlusive	tenues	p		t	ṭ		k	k̄	
	med. lenes	b ɓ		d	ḍ		g ġ		
Affricate	tenues				c č				
	med. lenes				ʒ ǯ				
Spirant	tenues				s s		x		h
	med. lenes				z z	j	ɣ		
Lateral	tenues				L				
Liquid	Lateral				l λ ł				
	Nasal	m		n			ŋ		

1. **h** laringeal, spirant; e.g. **helo** (to stand), **uhumo** (owl); /some cases of **ŋx**, perhaps ought to be considered as nasalized **h** or aspirated **ŋ**, e.g. **ŋxome** (fly), **ŋxopo** (mosquito), **amŋxo** (rain), **amŋxŭλo** (lightening) /.

2. **j** mid glottal spirant: e.g. **je** (chiken), **jiŋwuka** (fibre of tobacco leaf), **λopaje** (tobacco), **jaŋfaču** (match).*

3. **L** lateral, spirant, tenues (high); e.g. **Loŋ** (egg), **ciLi** (fourteen). **Vide** § 22, where details concerning this consonant are given.

§ 16. Final and Initial Sounds, Clusters, Nasalization.

1. Both vowels, including diphthong, and consonants may be final. All vowels can be so, but as to the consonants I have found only **n, ŋ, w**

and ɫ. The instances of the final vowels can be found in previous sections, so I shall here give but some examples of final consonants.

n e.g. **ïn** (to-day), **kÿu** (he, she), **áwn** (father's brother's wife); when palatalized: **iñ** (yesterday).

ŋ e.g.: toŋ (thousand), amèŋ (father's mother), cimeŋ (old, person) Note: some cases of final ŋ may be considered as further variation of nasalization (cf. infra § 16,4). The consonant ŋ does not appear always as well pronounced in different words, and by different persons, also in combination with other words.

w there are very few instances of final **w**; of its existence in this dialect, however, there is not any doubt. It may be supposed that it is in the process of formation, for the words ending in diphtongues show a tendency of increasing the second component with **w**. This phenomenon is perhaps connected with the emphatic bilabialization of labialized vowels.

ɫ in § 14,6. I have already quoted some cases of final ɫ which I put into brakets for its pronounciation is rather weak. However, finals ɫ is heard even in the isolated words, i.e. when they are not followed by another word with an initial vowels. This phenomenon is perhaps a recent one.

2. The initial sounds may be all consonants and all vowels excepting diphthongs, and **y**. Some of the consonants are rarer than the others, so for instance, **f** and **h**, are met with in a few cases, while all affricate and alveolar consonants are very numerous. Among the vowels, **o** and **ö** are very rare. This may also be connected with the limited use of **ö** in general, but it cannot be said so in reference to **ɔ**, which is the most numerous vowel. The bilabialization of the initial **a** which is preceded by **w** seems to be also common.*

3. Clusters of consonants and vowels are very rare. No clusters have been found excepting that of consonants with **n** and **ŋ**. In some cases they are due to the stricture of vowels (short and not accented.

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*This phenomenon has affected Chinese dialects, also Manchu (cf. my Notes on Aspiration and Bilabialization).

The stricture occurs but in the cases when there are final **n** and **ŋ** and initial **n, ŋ** and **m.** The loss of vowels may take place even in monosyllabic words, e.g. **ŋ** (ox), **ñ** (two).

4. The nasalization of vowels and some consonants is well marked in this dialect. Almost all vowels has been found to be sometimes nasalized, e.g. **x'eŋ** (house), **aŋce** (evening), **ameŋ** (father's mother), **toŋ** (thousand), **luŋgede** (wooden post), **č'iŋ** (root). The glottal consonants, as **x** and **g**, perhaps also undergoes nasalization, e.g. **ŋxe** (rat), **ŋxi** (eight), **ŋxopo** (mosquito), **ŋxome** (fly), **amŋxo** (rain). The alternation **ŋ**⁀**ŋg** may perhaps be referred to the same phenpmenon. The nasalization may change into the consonant **ŋ**. As the individual variations of the pronunciation, emphatic pronunciation, etc. present great variations I have used **ŋ** (consonant) without presuming its origin either from the nasalization of vowels, or as independent consonant, or as nasalization of consonants.

§ 17. Chinese loan-words.

I give here some recent borrowing of the Chinese words which may help the understanding of the present Lolo phonetic character. One must remember that the Chinese characters I give are pronounced in Yunnan according to the phonetic system of the Chinese of Yunnan which is near to that of the northern dialects.

> **ġulu** (wheel) 軲轆, **jan'zi** (turkey) 洋鷄, **iŋtoŋ** (chimney) 煙筒, **jaŋfacu** (match) 洋發炷, **poli** (glass) 玻璃, **p'i** (writting brush) 筆, **pupoŋ** (sail) 布篷 (?) **s'iau** (elephant)* 象, **ʒi** (wine) 酒.

This list may be enlarged by including many other words which have been completely assimilated, e.g. **aje** (father's father) (corr. 爺), where **a** is Lolo prefix and **je** is Chinese word; also I have suspicion as to **zo** (child, small animals and birds) which seems to be of a Chinese origin (cf. 子) but well assimilated as it has also happened in Mongol and Tungus.

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*I believe it to be a recent loan-word for the corresponding word in other Lolo dialects for "elephant" is different. The same is true in reference to other languages of the Tibeto-Burman group. **sian** has been borrowed by the Manchus **·sufan-**, but the Mongol word **ʒan ʒaɣan** may better be compared with the Siamese-Laos, etc. **čaṅ, tsan, tsaṅ** and not with the Chinese **siang** (the Siamese-Laos parallels I quote from B. Laufer, op. cit. p. 66).

III

COMPARISON OF THE LOLO DIALECTS.

§ 18. Methods of Recording.

The difficulty of comparison of this dialect with other Lolo dialects, besides the fact of rather limited material, is that P. Vial and A. Liétard who have published their material, had not recorded phonetics with all desirable precision. Both of them have analysed the Lolo phonetic system, not from the point of view of articulation, but chiefly from the point of view of acoustic effect as it had been perceived by themselves. Yet as basis of comparison both of them have taken their own language. Moreover, they did not sharply distinguish the phonetic elements and complexes from their graphic expression in French. Owing to these conditions, none of them were able to give an exact phonetic picture and many a sound have been either mixed up or split. I have here made an attempt of restoring, in so far as it was possible, the actual character of sounds recorded by them basing my restoration on their description of sounds and their own phonetic system. Not in all cases was it possible to do it. In spite of all the defects of my restoration, I shall compare my material with that of P. Vial and A. Liétard, for there are some interesting differences which may bring other problems to light.

The greatest difficulty these authors had were with the following vowels: ë, è and y which in many cases are designated by them as **"eu"**. P. Vial says "c'est précisement une des difficultés de cette langue, de gutturaliser les voyelles, même quand la consonne est labiale, de cette manière eu devient facillement ou, o, oo et même un son intraduisible avec nos lettres".*

These vowels are è and y probably. A. Liétard considered them, one may guess from his description, as "voyelles composées (diphthongues)",* so he concludes: "eu souvent aussi est confondu avec o, ou avec ou et parfois **ẅ**, ŵ même, mais très-rarement cependant, avec a, et vice

*P. Vial, Dictionnaire, p. 6.

versâ". In his case one may also guess the existence of the same vowels ö, è and **y** which are, as a matter of fact, difficult for foreigners unfamiliar with these sounds. As it has not always been possible to guess which of these sounds had been heard by these authors I give in brakets their original records.

Some difficulties have also been met by these authors with the record of consonants. They did not mention the existence of cerebral **ṫ**, **ḋ**, λ, but they did emphasize many aspirated consonants which I think in some cases are merely cerebralized. The consonant ł has also been omitted though its existence is very likely, indeed. They have introduced "r" which does not exist in Lolo and which has been recorded instead of ɣ and sometimes instead of **x**.** The latter has also been understood as k' (aspirated) and even h, for this consonant is lacking in French. One sound more, namely, ŋ, which has not been understood but perceived, is shown by P. Vial as "gh" and by A. Liétard usually as "ng". P. Vial's transcription "ghh" is that of ɣ, too. In these cases he could not get the spirant and voiced character of it produced by the back of the tongue ("s'essaie à sortir du fond du gosier," according to his description). The consonant **Ł** with its variations has not been understood and is designated as a group of consonants, e.g. "shl" (P. Vial), "hl" (A. Liétard). The details will be given in § 22. Other peculiarities of their transcription require no special explanations when restored by me. I here used ch=š, dj=ǯ, gn=**n'**, tch=**č**, and ts=c.

*A. Liétard, Aū Yunnan, p. 198. To this he has also added all syllables composed of **j** and **w** and different vowels.

P. Vial says (Dictionnaire, p. 7) "r n'est jamais dure; c'est à peu près notre r grasseyé. Il est à remarquer que, dans certains villages, on tend à confondre le k' aspiré et l'r grassayé." This is quite true the alternation x~ɣ is very likely, for the articulations in both cases are the same and since the process of alternation of mediae lenes with tenues affect the dialect in one of directions both **x and ɣ may happen to be present. The mistake of ɣ for **r** is known from other works, too. Cf. for instance M. G. Soulié, Eléments de grammaire mongole, analysed by A. Rudnev.

§ 19. Vowels (Comparative).

I give below two tables showing frequency (in percentage) of alternations of principal vowels. I have omitted rare vowels like **ȧ, o̊, u̇** and **ü** of my records. In the second table the frequency (in percentage) of the same vowels in three dialects is shown. For this analysis I have chosen the words of the same stem in these dialects. So I have compared one hundred and eighty words of Buś dialect with one hundred and forty-six words of Ni dialect, and one hundred and fifty-two words of Ahi dialect.

TABLE II.

Vowel frequency (in percentage)

Vowels / Dialects	o	e	i	u	a	y	ö	ä
Buś	**33.3**	26.7	21.1	7.2	4.4	4.4	1.7	1.1
Ni	4.0	**37.6**	12.8	17.6	20.0		7.2	
Ahi	**33.3**	15.1	12.7	7.1	12.7		19.0	

TABLE III.

Frequency (in percentage) of alternation of vowels

Buś / Ni and Ahi	a		e		i		ö		o		u		y	
	Ni	Ahi	Ni	Ahi	Ni	Ahi	Ni	Ahi	Ni	Ahi	Ni	Ahi	Ni	Ahi
a	25.0	**60.0**	3.3	22.7	3.1		33.3		46.7	5.6		8.3		
e			**66.7**	29.5	**50.0**	12.9	**66.7**		8.8	2.8	33.3	8.3	**50.0**	
i	25.0		6.7	18.2	37.5	**51.6**			4.4	8.3		8.3		
ö	25.0		13.3	15.9	3.1	16.1		**50.0**	4.4	5.6	16.7	25.0		**75.0**
o		40.0	3.3	11.4	6.2	12.9		**50.0**	4.4	**72.2**		16.7		25.0
u	25.0		10.0	2.3		6.4			31.1	5.6	**50.0**	33.3	**50.0**	

From these tables it may be seen that in Buś. the vowels **o, e, i** cover roughly speaking 80 per cent, while in Ahi and Ni 60 and 50 respectively. In Ni dialect **o** is rare, so in descending order the vowels are **e, a, u, i,** and in Ahi dialect the order of vowels is again different, namely **o, ö, e, i, a.** Taking into consideration the most frequent vowels one may characterize these dialects: Buś **(oai)**, Ni **(eau)**, and Ahi **(oöe).**

Frequency of alternations also shows the character of these dialects. If one compares these dialects as seen in combinations of alternations the number of these combinations is rather limited.

when in Buś	in Ni is found	in Ahi is found	Frequency in per cent
o	a	o	40.0 of all Buś o
o	u	o	18.2 of all Buś o
e	e	e	31.3 of all Buś e
e	e	i	18.7 of all Buš e
i	i	i	30.8 of all Buś i
i	e	i	17.9 of all Buś i

I give some instances of alternations shown in the previous table type **oao kezö, keza** (keèzà 뽀 뉴), **hazo** (ha^{2}-zo)—the star:
type **ouo toŋ, tu** (toù ᡃᡋ), **to** (to^{2})—thousand:
type **eee leko, leku** (leèkoū 丠 丞),* **leco** ($lyé^{2}$-$tcho^{1}$)—the armlet
type **eei gepe, ċebe** (tch'ébee ᡃᡋ 丠), **k'ib'e** (k'i-bye^{1})—the foot
type **iii lep'i, lepi** (leê pī 丠 丞), **lepi** ($lyé^{2}$-pi^{1})—the ring
type **iei Li, Lē** (shlē ⿱), **li** (li^{2})—four.

I shall not give the examples of other combinations of alternations for it will take too much space in this paper. Some of combinations are very rare, so for instance, the coincidence in all three dialects of **a, o,** and

*__P. Vial__ gives also another reading of this character, gou.

u are especially rare. Some of combinations are lacking altogether. I must point out that the above material perhaps does not exhaust all the mathematically possible combinations, but for us it is important just to see the tendency, which appears quite clear from the above tables.

From the Table III one may see that P. V i a l has probably understood ö chiefly as **e** and *y* as **u**, while A. L i é t a r d—ö as ö, i.e. quite correct, but *y* as ö and **o**.

The diphthongues **ei** and **ai** of Buś have their corresponding in Ni **e** and ë, while in Ahi only **a**.

The quantity and tones have been recorded by these two authors. A. L i é t a r d* has found in Lolopo dialect nearly the sames tones as in Chinese and in Ahi four Chinese tones. Father M a r t i n** has found a somewhat different system among the Lolo of Seehuen. P. V i a l has also found five tones, but he did not compare them with the Chinese tones. As I have shown the tones of Buś are not of the Chinese type and yet they change in the sentences which has also been noticed by these authors.*** In all dialects there is tendency of preserving the quantity, but it cannot be generalized. In a lasser degree the tones, in so far they may be compared, are also sometimes preserved.****

§ 20. **C o n s o n a n t s (c o m p a r a t i v e).**

The aspiration and palatalisation are met with in both dialects. I have already pointed out that in some cases the cerebralization has been mistaken for aspiration and even palatalization. No definite tendency as to the preservation of aspiration and palatalization have been disclosed.

1. L a b i a l C o n s o n a n t s alternate:

a. **ḃ⌣b⌢p** without any definite tendency, e.g. **bonogo** (Buś) **-poʒë** (po²-tseu˙) (Ahi) /knee/:

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*A. L i é t a r d, Ay Yunnan, p. 199.

**Ibid. p. 199, footnote 2.

***A. L i é t a r d, Essai, p. 628.

****These authors, I think, in their search for the tones is Lolo, were influenced by the Chinese system of tones with which they were familiar. Cf. **supra** § 4, Remarks.

ƀè (Buš) **-pö** (peù ✱) (Ni) **-po** (po³) (Ahi) /mountain/;
gepē (Buš) **-č'ebe** (tch'e bee ろ 𝄎) (Ni) **-k'ib'e** (k'i-bye) (Ahi) /foot/. The most frequent case is that when in all three dialects **p** is found (47.1 per cent of all cases).

Note: All three dialects may be suspected of undergoing the process of alternation mediae lenes into tenues.

b. **v** and **w** seem to alternate with **v** and **g**, also **w∾b**, and **b∾v**, so, for instance, **nēvö** (Buš) **-nöɤ'e** (neù ghhé 𝄎 𝄎) (Ni) **-nögö** (neu-geu) (Ahi) /side/:
wuka (Buš) **-ɤ'ɛpu** (ghhé pou 𝄎 𝄎) (Ni) **-ɤöko** (reu⁴-kö¹) (Ahi) /bone/;
ɤō (Buš) **-va** (vá 𝄎) (Ni) **-wo** (ouo⁴) (Ahi) /snow/;
wu (Buš) **-buben** (bou¹-ben⁴) (Ahi) /roof/:
lab'e (Buš) **-leɤe** (lài ghhé 𝄎 𝄎) /neck/.

c. b∾m has been met only once, namely **żibo** (Buš) **-jimo** (yi³-mo³) (Ahi) /river/, so this alternation may be only suspected as existing in these dialects.

2. D e n t a l C o n s o n a n t s alternate **d∾s**, **d∾z**, **t∾š**; e.g.
deǐ (Buš) **-de** (dái 𝄎) (Ni) **-ǯa** (dja⁴) (Ahi) /to beat/;
n'idu (ɨ) (Buš) **-nesé** (neesé 𝄎 𝄎) (Ni) **-n'esa** (nyé-sa⁴) (Ahi /eye/;
-ǯė (Bus) **-ǯe** (dje 𝄎) (Ni) **-d'i** (dyi) (Ahi) /brass/:*
moše (Buš)**-mata** (mata ∅▽) (Ni)**-moto** (mō¹-to³) (Ahi)/bamboo/;
on the other hand **t** (**ŧ**)∾**c** is also known, e.g. **ci** (Buš) **-ti** (t'i 𝄎) (Ni) **-ti** (t'i) (Ahi) /one/. Alternations t∾ŧ is common. In Buš **t** and **đ** seem to be better preserved.

3. A l v e o l a r C o n s o n a n t s alternate **z∾c**, **ż∾č**, **ż∾j**, **s∾ś**; /previously shown: **s∾đ**, **s∾t**; (**vide** also **infra** 4. A f f r i c a t e C o n s o n t a n t s)/, e.g.
ze (Buš) **-cö** (tseù ✱) (Ni) **-cö** (tsen²) (Ahi) /bridge/;
dczy (Buš) **-dččö** (do⁴-tch'eu) (Ahi) /honey comb/;
zičė (Buš) **-że** (jè 𝄎) (Ni) **-jiǯ'e** (yi-diye) (Ahi) /water/;

*Cf. Mongol **ǯed**, Burist **-ǯes** (brass).

taže (Buś) -n'iže (gnijè 㓠 ጠ) (Ni) -tiji (ti¹-yi³) (Ahi) /saliva/*;
čiši (Buś) -k'isa (k'i³-sa²) (Ahi) /claw/.

4. Affricate Consonants alternate c∾č, c∾k, č∾k, c∾ʒ, č∾ǯ, č∾z, ć∾ʒ, č∾ġ, ǯ∾ʒ, ʒ∾k, ʒ∾g, ʒ∾ɣ (?) /also previously shown, c∾z, ċ∾z, d∾ǯ, c∾t,/, e.g.

čiLon (Buś) -ciLu (ts'ishloù 丂▷) (Ni) /rice/:

n'ib'učai (Buš) -nibucö (nee boù ts'eu 㐃 㐂 㐆) (Ni) n'ebuka (nye¹-bou²-k'a) (Ahi) /eyebrow/:

či (Buś) -ci (ts'i 丂) (Ni) -k'i (k'i²) (Ahi) /goat/;

če (Buś) -će (tch'é 㐅) (Ni) -ki (k'i⁴) (Ahi) /dog/:

syʒai (Buš) -secö (sètse 㐆 㐇) (Ni) -söc'e (seu³-ts'ê²) (Ahi) /tree/;

ǯ'e (Buś) -čema (tchèma 㐈 ∅) (Ni) -caɣö (tcha³-reu⁴) (Ahi) /tooth/:

wučāpo (Buš) -zopo (zo⁴-p'o⁴) (Ahi) and zu (ts'ou) (Ahi) /man/ (čāpo-zopo):

ġodow (Buś) -kama (kamà 卅 ∅) (Ni) čoma (tcho²-ma³) (Ahi) /road, way/:

čižó (Buś) -kicö (kits'eù 06⋈) (Ni) -k'icö (kyé-ts'eu⁴) (Ahi) /rope/:

gomo (Buś) -guma (goumà 㐉 ∅) (Ni) -ʒoma (djo⁴-ma³) (Ahi) /plough/:

lēʒi (Buś) -leɣe (leéghhedloù 㐊 㐋 㐌) (Ni) -leɣö (lyé²-reu) (Ahi) /arm/:

5. Glottal Consonants alternate k∾ɣ, k∾h, ɣ∾g, ɣ∾x? /x∾h∾' (aspiration)/, ɣ∾ŋ /also previously shown ɣ∾ʒ, g∾ǯ, k∾c, k∾ć, k∾ʒ/: e.g.

koduso (Buś) -ɣe (ghhe 㐍) (Ni) -ɣo (ouo¹) (Ahi) /to walk/** (ko-ɣe-ɣo)

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*že (ži)-ji, the second component is "water," see **supra.**

I have some doubts as to ʒi-ɣe-ɣó. Perhaps we have here two different components. Yet "ghhe" may be **x, and "ouo" may be **wo.**

k'ezč (Buś) -keza (keèzà 巳与) (Ni) -hazo (ha³-zo⁴) (Ahi) /star/:
ʒe (Buś) -g'e (giüi 乜) (Ni) -ŋa and ʒ'a (nga,⁴ ra⁴) (Ahi) /large, big/;

xy (Buś) -ʒe (re 糸) (Ni) -hö (heu) (Ahi) /iron/: (ʒ /r/ in Ni might be shown by mistake, instead of x, also h in Ahi). Though there are many instances of x∾h∾' I have some doubts as to these records. In fact, as shown both P. Vial and A. Liétard did not distinguish the consonant x, so in some cases it might be taken for h and even a simple aspiration. Therefore I omit all these alternations. The same ought to be referred to ʒ∾ŋ, e.g; in the above case, for ʒ and ŋ presented great difficulties to these authors.

6. Liquid Consonants

a. m∾b, vide supra Labial Consonants; generally speaking, the consonant m seems to be very stable in all dialects; the same holds good for n. However, the alternation n∾ŋ is common, e.g. ŋ (Buś) -n'i (gni 牛) (Ni) -ni (ni¹) (Ahi) /ox/;

ŋe (Buš) -n'a (gna 毛) (Ni) -na (nā¹) (Ahi) /small/: ŋ∾g alternation is also somewhat doubtful, though there are cases like ŋo (Buś) -ŋa (gha 巫) (Ni) -go (go³) (Ahi) /I, me/, which together with the case ŋ∾ʒ ought not to be omitted from consideration. Moreover, there are many instances when ŋ is present in Buš while lacking in other dialects, e.g. toŋ (Buš) -tu (tou 子) (Ni) -to (to²) (Ahi) /thousand/;

č'iŋ (Buś) -ki (k'i-tcho³) (Ahi) /root/;

λaxoŋ (Buś) -laxo (la'o 乙ヮ) (Ni) /hat (round, large)/.

Note: It may be noted that in most cases oŋ (Buś) corr. u (Ni), whence, it may be supposed that the final ŋ may be regarded as effect of nasalization of vowels.

b. as to the alternations ɫ (l) (λ) vide supra § 18. In Buś alternations of this type are possible, so in some cases I have found in my notes (from different and even from the same per-

sons) palatalized and cerebralized **l** combined with different vowels and sometimes with the same vowels.

7. V a r i a C o n s o n a n t s. It has already been stated regarding comparative material in general, as to h (**vide supra** § 20,5). The alternation j∾**ž** has been shown in § 20,3. The case of **L** will be analized in § 22. The yedization of vowels is observed in all three dialects simultaneously. However, it may be sometimes lacking in one or two of them.

§ 21. General Remarks.

1. No regular process of transition of mediae lenes into tenues or vice versa has been found in these dislects.

2. The alternation of alveolar and glottal consonants (**c∾k, etc.**) seems to be very common. Bus may be characterized by the presence of alveolar consonants which are glottal in other dialects.

3. Buš may be characterized by the presence of numerous **č**, ǯ, **š**, used instead of **c, z, s** found in other dialects, however **ž∾z** is also common in Buš.

4. The aspiration in Buš seems to be less developed than in other dialects /This remark ought to be taken with great reserves as to its validity, for in P. V i a l ' s and A. L i é t a r d ' s works the palatalization and cerebralization might be mistaken for aspiration, for the decrease of the voice as well/.

5. The nasalization seems to be more pronounced in Buš than in other dialects.

6. The final consonants (ɫ) and **w** are met with only in Buš. Yet the final **n** and **ŋ** are also much more common in this dialect than in the others.

7. The stricture of vowels, in so far as it is possible to see from the material published, is more common in Buš and Ni than in Ahi.

8. The bilabialization (w) and its further changes into the spirant **w** is met with in Buš and it may also be suspected in Ahi.

IV.

CONSONANT L.

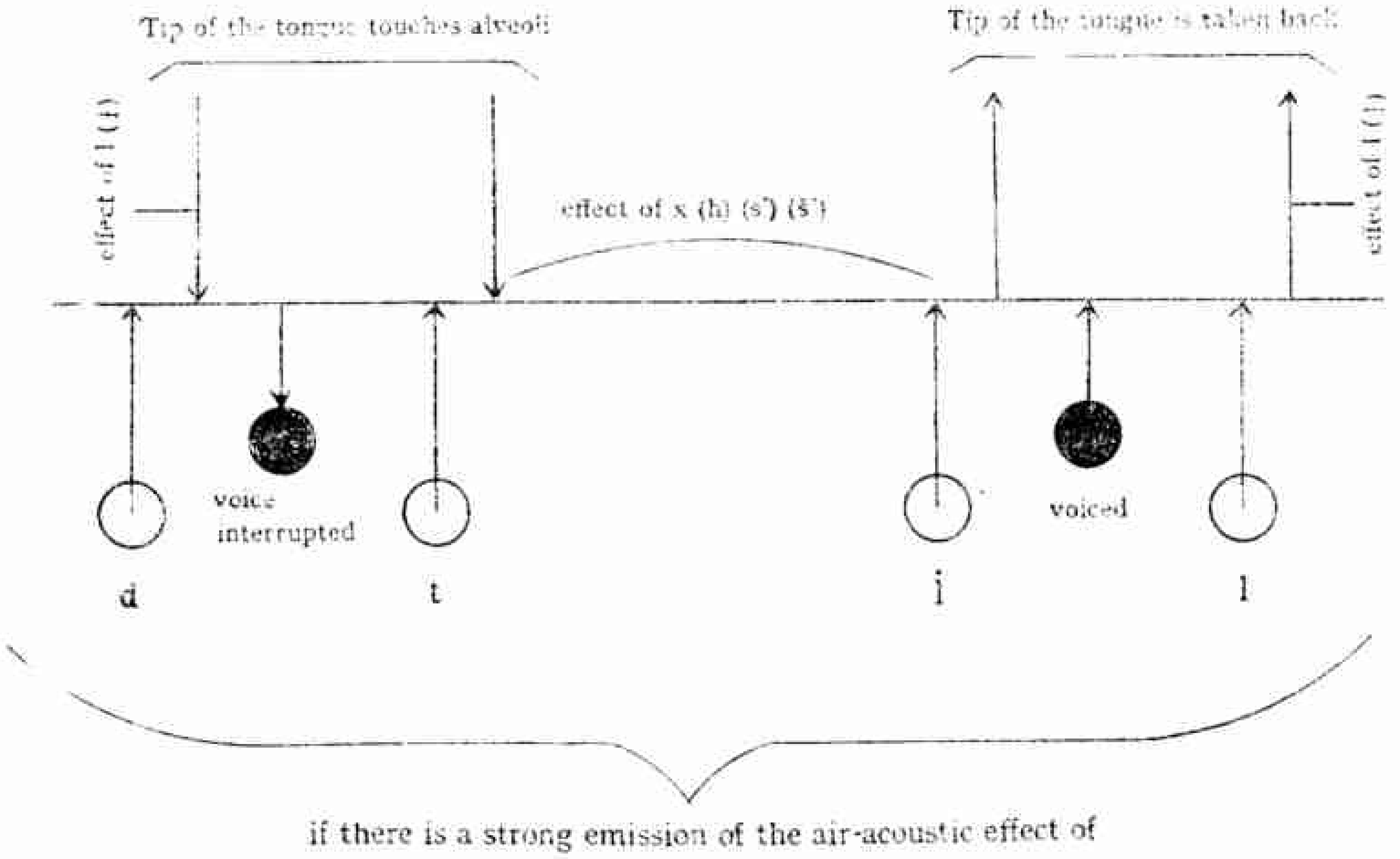
§ 22. In the Lolo Dialects.

The articulation and production of this consonant in Buš is as follows. The tip of the tongue touches the alveoli of the upper incisors, the lateral edges of the tongue approach the molar teeth, and the back of the tongue is raised to the palate leaving a narrow passage for the air; the vocal chords and velum are relaxed. For producing the sound, the air is moderately emitted first between the palate and back of the tongue and later passing through the space left by the lateral edges of the tongue and molar teeth, at last between the relaxed cheeks and teeth, thus producing a **tenues spirant.** This sound is increased by another sound produced by the vibration of the cheeks, also in a relaxed position, while the air passes with certain strength through the narrow space between the tongue and teeth and escapes into the larger space formed by the cheeks and teeth. No change of the air pressure occurs.

If the air pressure is gradually increased, the acoustic effect is very near to that of a spirant, either **x**, or **h** and even **s'**, but when abruptly stopped it produces acoustic effect of a **voiceless ɬ** (or ɬ), that is, **xɬ** (ɬ), or **hɬ** (ɬ), and even **s'ɬ** (ɬ). If the pressure of the air is stronger at the beginning and later gradually decreases, the acoustic effect is naturally different. First, a sound like voiceless **ɬ** (ɬ) comes out and afterwards the spirant, either **x**, or **h**, or even **s'** is heard, that is either (ɬ) **ɬx**, or (ɬ) **ɬh**, or even (ɬ) **ɬs'**. Let us now suppose that the air emission is similar to that in the case when an occlusive is produced. The above described sound will be modified into **tɬ** (ɬ), or **tɬ** (ɬ) **h**, or even **tɬ** (ɬ) **x**. Let us now make another step by supposing this consonant to be voiced. With such a supposition, the acoustic effect will again be different, and we shall have **dɬ** (ɬ), (ɬ) **ɬd**, which may also be percepted as increased by **x, h,** etc.

In the speech, this consonant is rarely met with without voiced vowels and consonants either preceding or following it. In case the articulation of the consonant **L** takes place before the vanishing of the preceding voiced sound, it may appear just as it has been described, but if it is not so, then **L** may be percepted as **l** (**ɬ**)-**x** (**h**). In the case of a preceding either occlusive voiced, or stressed vowel, **L** may be percepted as **dl**, etc. The same holds good in the case of a following either voiced consonant or vowel. All these cases can be clearly seen from the Scheme I.

SCHEME I.
L and its variations



The conventional sign **L** I use for designating this consonant in Lolo does not imply its connexion with **l**, **ɬ** and **λ**. The acoustic effect produced by this consonant may be nearly the same (for an ear not yet accustomed to these sounds) as that of **l**, but since the nature of this sound, as described, is entirely different, we cannot generalize it with **l**. It is getting especially evident when the further variations of this sound are established. In fact, several sounds, like simple **d**, **t**, **x**, **k**, **h**, with

their modifications may originate from **L**. Among these consonants **l** (ɬ), and λ may also originate.

Since, as I shall later show, this consonant is not confined to the Lolo dialect here discussed, but is also met with in other languages, I shall give details first within the Lolo dialects.

In P. V i a l ' s work, so far as it may be seen from what he says, I find three different complexes which seem to originate from one and the same source, namely **L**. P. V i a l gives "shl", "dl" and "tl" as "groupes" of consonants. For the time being, I shall leave open the question whether these are really groups of consonants or certain consonant differently percepted, but we may point out that in Buś there is but one consonant **L**, the groups **dl** and **tl** are lacking. In A. L i é t a r d ' s work there are slight traces of this consonant, namely when he uses "hl" and "ll". In all other cases to my **L** and P. V i a l ' s "shl" one finds corresponding "l". He understands it as "aspiration initiale" of l which he describes in the following words: "elle (aspiration) se rapproche au contraire de la sifflante palatale, marquée dans les transcription scientifiques par ṣ". In his examples he says "hlo-bo (lune): prononcez.... chlo-bo ou shlo-bo"* whence it is evident that he did distinguish this consonant, but could not understand its articulation and production of sound. Whether A. L i é t a r d did not find it in Ahi dialect or he did merely simplify it we cannot see from his material, for this consonant **L** is in a process of variation. The fact of finding only **L** and **l** (ɬ, λ) in Buś, "shl", "dl" and "tl" in Ni, also "hl", "ll" and "l" in Ahi points to the fact of such a process. There may be naturally different ways of losing it, which will be discussed later on. I now quote some parallels from the three dialects.

1. Cases when **L** is preserved in both Buś and Ni dialects:
   Li (Buš) **-Le** (shle ◯) (Ni) **-li** (li^{2}) (Ahi) /four/:
   Licu (Buś) **-Live** (shivee [illegible], according to P. V i a l, out of use,

*A. L i é t a r d, Essai, p. 629.

preserved only in written form) (Ni) -/cf. **male** (ma⁴-lyé¹) (Ahi) (fiançailles) /bridegroom/;

Lobe (Buś) **-Lu** (shloù ⊳) /white/;

Loŋ (Buś) **-Lu** (shloù ⊳) /silver/:

Lope (Buś) **-Lape** (shlap'ee) /leg/;

ciLoŋ (Buś) **-ciLu** (ts'ishloù ⊳) (Ni) /rice/:

2. Cases when **L** is lost in Buś, but preserved in Ni dialect:

ɬo (Buś) **-aLama** (ashlàme ○) (Ni) **-tiLo** (ti¹-hlo³) (Ahi) /hare/;

li (Buś) **-Li** (shli) (Ni) **-li** (lī) (Ahi) /boat/:

lizo (Buś) **-Loza** (shlēzá) (Ni) **-lizo** (li¹-zo⁴) (Ahi) /son's son/:

la (Buś) **-Lu** (shlu ⊳) (Ni) **-lə** (leu¹) (Ahi) /worn out, to/:

lōpi (Bus) **-La** (shla) (Ni) **-lu, lo** (lou³, lo³) (Ahi) /tongue/:

λob'e (Bus) **-Labe** (shlālài) **-lubi** (lou-bi⁴) (Ahi) /trousers/:

amŋäλë (Bus) **-muLö** (moùshleu) (Ni) **-mulo** (mou-llo) (Ahi) /lightening/;

aλolimo (Bus) **-aLalamu** (ashlàlám (ou) ○) (Ni) **-alalimi** (a¹-la³-li-m'⁴) (Ahi) /ass/;

λobö (Buś) **-Laba** (shlā-bà ○) (Ni) **-Lobe, hobo** (hlo-bo. ho-bo) (Ahi) /moon/.

3. There are some cases where **L** seems to be lost, e.g. **selo** (Buś) **-sedla** (chedla) (Ni) /orange/: however, in this case, **L** has been perhaps percepted as **dl**. The complex **tl** I do not find in my material, but it is met with in a limited number of cases in Ni dialect. The consonant **L** in its modified (either by the observer or on the soil of the dialects) form is found in Cl. Madrolle's material, namely in Wu-ni (Ha-ni) /Laokai province, in Tonkin/ dialect "moon" is "ba-tl'a-ma" (cf. **Laba** of Ni dialect).*

*In the same publication some other evidences as to the existence of the consonant **L** are found, e.g. in Man-tseu (No-so) dialect "moon" is "la ba" and "hlo po" (**Lopo**); in Eul-yi-tseu (Ni-se) dialect are found, for instance, "sdli" (four, cf. **supra Li**); "shlie" (boat); "y slou" /cf. **žeLa** (je shla) (Ni)/ (river); "ti-mi-slā" /cf. **meLi** (mai shli 不 哔) (Ni)/ (wife).

The above shown evidences of the existence of the consonant **L** in different degrees modified, also in different ways and manner perceived and recorded by the investigators are convincing enough for making up conclusion as to its wide spreading in different Lolo dialects. It is not confined to the Buš dialect where it has sometimes already given its place to ɫ, l and λ, being evidently better preserved in Ni dialect. These evidences also show that this consonant is in the process of variation going on in different dialects.

The material I have at my disposal does not suffice for finding the present bundaries and variations of this consonant. Unfortunately, some observers have "simplified" their transcription of sounds perceived, so it is impossible to distinguish **L** from other consonants recorded in the same manner. I have some suspicions as to the records of A. Liétard who evidently has simplified his records. In fact, in many respects, the Ahi dialect occupies an intermediary position phonetically speaking, and geographically as well, but only in three cases out of ten, one may suspect L (ll, hl of his transcription), while the consonant L is well represented in Ni dialect and sufficiently represented in Buš.

The loss of this consonant may be due to the variation of (1) the character of the air emission, (2) voicing, (3) mode of articulation. The Lolo dialects are affected in different degree by these processes. In Buš dialect, the consonant **L** in all the above quoted cases is substituted either by **l** or ɫ or λ, whence one may see that the loss of **L** is due to the voicing with slight change of the air emission. This seems to be in accordance with other analogous variations of phonetics sometimes resulting in the change of tenues into mediae lenes.

§ 23. In Other Languages of the same **Group**.

The consonant **L** seems to be known* in Tibetan, where one meets very often with "hl" and "lh" which may be guessed to be **L**. In the Tibetan colloquial, the writing system used in Tibetan shows quite clearly its existence. In fact, the subjoined consonant ལ is used but with བ

*I have no extensive phonetic descriptions of this language.

. 닌' "a god". According to C. A. B e l l* it is pronounced "hla, the " being pronounced before l". This sign is also used in Sanscrit ords. A different treatement of the same sound we find in another au- or, A. D e s g o d i n** who says that it is very aspirated and in com- ation with ꞁꞁ' is pronounced "lha", while in Bathang it is somteimes a" and "lha". From these two contradictory evidences one may guess t there is neither "hla" nor "lha", but a different sound perceived by ne persons as "hl", and by others as "lh" and varying in different lects. It is sure these sounds are connected with **L**. In fact, "trou- s" **Labe** (Ni), **λobe** (Buś), **lubi** (Ahi) in Tibetan "lhangbo"***. The nmon words in Burmese are also met with "lh" where we may expect have **L**, e.g. "tongue" **La** (Ni), **lopi** (Bus), **lu** (Ahi) in Burmese "lhya", Bunan "lhe", but in Tibetan "lče"****. The latter parallel is inter- ng for it brings forth another way of variation of the same consonant This is not an isolated case in Tibetan we have, for instance, "heavy" in etan "lći", corr. "hlö" (**Lö**, S. Sh.) (Ahi), **lźe** (lje 彐) (Ni). On the er hand, the same consonant **L** in Tibetan is sometimes found as "ld". s also true of Lolo dialects (cf. supra § 22,3), "to lick" is "ldagpa" Tibtean, and "tongue" is **La** in Lolo, as shown. This may also be ported by a series: "moon" **Laba** (Ni), **λobo** (Bus), **Lobo** ("hlo-be"), hi), /according to B. Laufer,—in Southern Chin—"k-h-lo", in Kuki lha", in Haka—"k-la", in Thalun—"k-h-le" and "k-h-lye"/, in lakhi "ldava", while in Tibetan "z-la-ba".*****

* ll, C. A. Grammar, p. 12.

** esgodins, A. Essai, p. 18.

*** quote from F. S a v i n a, op. cit. p. 51. It may be restored as **Lạbo**, where a is salized, as it is common in Buš.

**** This and other parellels I quote chiefly from B. L a u f e r, op. cit. p. 49.

*****I believe that Tibetan "zla" cannot be cut into "za-la" as B. L a u f e r does (op. t. p. 29), just as in the case of "lči" (heavy). This author did not hesitate to cut to two syllables "lho" of A. L i é t a r d in **muLo** (mu-hlo) (Ahi), corre. **muLe** (moushle ᗰ) (Ni) /wind/ stating that "the form h-lo is evidently (why? S. Sh.) a contrac- on of he-lo, as shown by Lisu me-hei, mi-hi ("wind")" (p. 43, footnote 2). As a atter of fact the latter cases shows that **l̥a** may alter into **h** (supposing the records e correct) and not that "h-lo" is contracted form of "he-lo". In the case of P.

To the above cases of L→lč (Tib) and L→ld (Tib) perhaps one may also associate the case of L→rl (Tib); so, for instance, muLo (N.) muLo (mu-hlo) (Ahi), le (Burmese, cf. B. L a u f e r), in Tibetan is "rlun"— "the wind". Indeed, in all these cases one must have first of all exact phonetic equivalents. Therefore, for the time being, I shall not discuss them. However, the possibility of d$\lessgtr$ č ǯ ʒ and L→rl is evident.*

I want now to draw attention to the Thai language where the consonant L also seems to be present. F. M. S a v i n a in his Dictionary and another work gives very clear hints as to this consonant. So referring to the pronounciation of the initial s (x of his transcription) in numerals he says that they are pronounced sometimes as sl (xl). and th, etc. Yet, there are many other words with the initial sl (xl). Supposing that they are further modifications of the consonant L, I have restored them as shown and brought forth with some parallels, e.g. Lon (two),

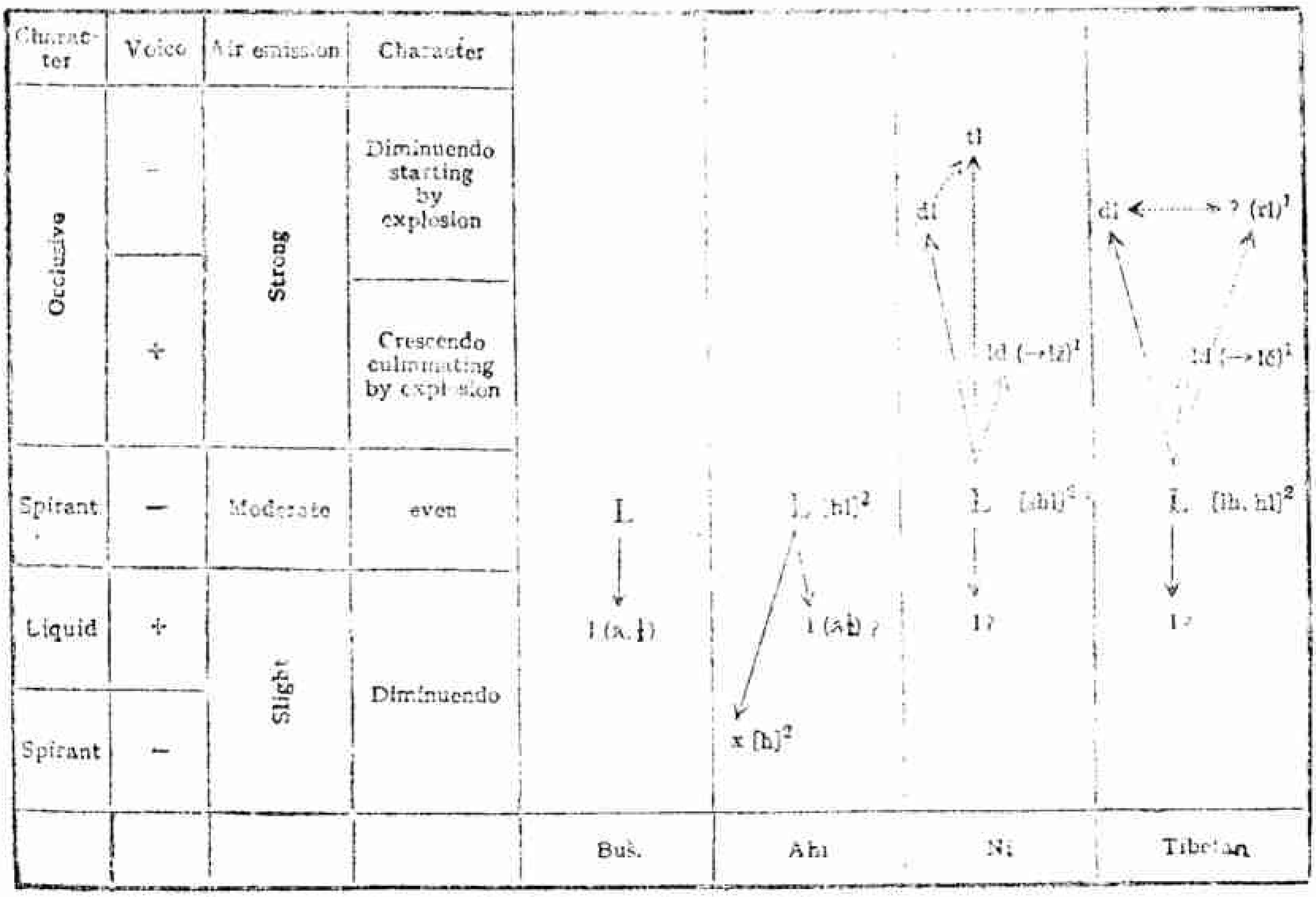
V i a l 's "shl" B. L a u f e r has even introduced his correction, namely, he uses šl instead of "shl" while P. V i a l quite clearly shows (Dictionaire, p. 7) this consonant (L) among other simple consonants like š, ǯ, ʒ, ŋ, c and ċ, among which he has also included "dl" and "tl". Yet, in his transcription (particularly "shl") he pronounces them, as he says, "à la française" so it cannot be read "à l'anglaise" and transcribed as šl. This sound transcribed by P. V i a l in his way and corrected by B. L a u f e r, who is familiar with phonetics, in a different way, really looks like š + l which when needed may be cut into š and l and also supplied with the imaginary vowels. This is not an isolated case in B. L a u f e r 's treatement of P. V i a l 's and A. L i é t a r d 's material. B. L a u f e r has used the peculiar transcription of P. V i a l 's consonant "gh" for showing the existance of a hypothetic prefix k- in Si-hia language (op. cit. p. 14) and which he did not read ŋ, as P. V i a l tried to explain (cf. also A. L i é t a r d 's "ng" used instead of P. V i a l 's "gh") as a peculiar consonant lacking in French. The third case is that of P. V i a l 's "r" (also of A. L i é t a r d 's) which has also been used by B. L a u f e r for establishing various prefixes and affinities. In this case B. L a u f e r has also omitted the description of this sound given by P. V i a l and transcribed it as English "r", a sound quite different from "r grassayé" understood by P. V i a l. Such a method of treatement of the linguistic material leaves, of course, great doubts as to the validity of results obtained by B. L a u f e r.

*The cutting of "rlun" into "ro-lun", as B. L a u f e r does (op. cit. pp. 43-4) again raises some doubts. Yet, it is not absolutely clear on what basis he proposes Si-hia **lo** (the wind) to be "ro"? The long discussion about the prefix "r" and synonymous words is, of course, very ingenious, but an absolutely unnecessary construction.

Lam (three), **Li** (four, cf. **Li** /Lolo/), **Lip** (ten), **Lin** (thousand), **Lit** (snow), **Lao** (girl), **Lay** (intestine), **Lu** (dress, cf. **Loka** /Lolo/),* **Lạbc** /Tib/, **Lun** (garden, cf. **kelun** /Ni/?), **Lua** (tiger, cf. **la** /Ni, Ahi, Moso/), **Lu** (to buy), **Li** (to write), **Lai** (to wash), **Las** (steel), **Lay** (small). If we suppose that **sl** has substituted **L,** then it may also be inferred that in Thai the variations of the consonant **L** has taken place by a slight change of the original articulation (**s**) with a stronger emission of the air, but preserving of the tenues and spirant character of the original consonant. Though the relationship between Thai and the languages of the Tibeto-Burman group is not yet definitely established, the fact of common words is evident. As to the common phonetic peculiarities found, for instance, in the existence of the consonant **L,** it may be due to the common origin of the phonetic

Scheme II

Variations of consonant **L**



1. When the articulation is changed. 2. Recorded as shown in brakets

elements and borrowing from other languages as well.* The phonetic elements in this respect do not differ from other ethnographical elements.

The above shown facts are tabulated in the Scheme II in which I have included but three Lolo dialects compared in this paper, and Tibetan. The variations of the consonant **L** in Tibetan are shown only partly. All possible and observed variations of the consonant **L** may be found out from this Scheme.

§ 24. In the Palaeasiatic and American Languages.

The phenomenon of the consonant **L** is not an isolated case in Asia. Another group of languages the common origin of which is far from being proved is that of the North-Eastern palaeasiatic languages considered as a group by themselves owing to some common phonetic phenomena, and generally linguistic and ethnographical features.

W. B o g o r a s** has given the following description of this sound

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*The instances of spreading phonetic fashions in Asia I have shown in another paper (cf. Notes on the *Bilabialization*, etc.), where I analyse the spreading *of bilabialization* and aspiration in relatively recent time in Northern and Southern Tungus, from certain common sources of these "fashions."

W. B o g o r a s, Chukchee, p. 645. I have some doubts as to this description. First of all its definition as a "stop" does not clear up the question. Second, "back of the tongue pressed against the hard palate" makes the producing of the consonant impossible unless the speaker charges this position into that above described (cf. **supra, § 22).* When one learns to produce this sound W. B o g o r a s' description may perhaps help, but this is not the position of the tongue for the direct production. I had the opportunity of analysing this (Chukchi) sound through the kindness of Madame Xrenov, who had spent among the Chukchis a very long time and, owing to the local conditions and her love for these people, had become absolutely familiar with this dialect (Maritime). Moreover, she knew at the moment of her living among the Chukchis four European languages and possessed a good musical ear. Yet her idea was to speak Chukchi as they did it. She made rather extensive dictionary with very numerous examples. This material, for some time, was at my disposal and all sounds of the Chukchi dialect have been analysed. She learned the language from the natives. The analasys of her material and that published by W. B o g o r a s show that "back of the tongue pressed" has nothing to do with the production of this consonant for certain clusters would become absolutely impossible, the formation of syllables and their succession, as well.

in Chukchi language: "L stop produced by the tip of the tongue touching the upper alveoli back of the tongue pressed against the hard palate, and sudden lateral release with slightly continued stricture. Ḷ like L, but sonant." The American languages L. J. Frachtenberg* defines it as "lateral", "sonant", "surd" and "fortis" in the Coos language, and as "lateral", "surd" and "fortis", in the Siuslaw language.**

The above quoted definitions of this sound show a coincidence with the definition given for the Lolo consonant. Among the Americano-Asiatic groups this consonant is evidently the same which permitted the editor, F. Boas, to designate it by the same sign L, Ḷ (voiced) ("sonant" of his definition) and L! (emphatic) ("fortis"). The distribution of this sound (in its tenues form) in America, according to E. Sapir is confined to the group of "rough languages of the Columbia valley, and the North Californian and Oregon coast (Chinookan, Salish, Alsea, Coos, Athapaskan, Yurok)".*** The same consonant is met with in Kwikiautl****. Its distribution in Asia is not confined to the Chuchi language. It is met with in a modified form in Koriak, Aleutian, Kamchadal, and perhaps some other languages.

Bogoras-Boas***** treats this consonant L (and Ḷ) as "double consonants" by their origin and actual use for the reason that they never appear in clusters and as terminal ones.****** The reason given cannot, however, be justified from the phonetic point of view. In fact, these authors have also considered the palatilized t', d', j' (ž' of the transcription here used), č' (č') as "double consonants" for, according to them, these consonants have originated from t'<t+y; d'<d+y and from the assimilation j'<d'+y: č'<t'+y (or ž'<d'+j: č'<t'+j of the transcription

*L. J. Frachtenberg, Coos, p. 307.

**L. J. Frachtenberg, Siuslawan, p. 444.

***Cf. E. Sapir, The Takelama Language, p. 8.

****F. Boas.

*****W. Bogoras' material has been re-worked out by F. Boas (cf. W. Bogoras, p. 637) so that, for safety, I shall join the name of F. Boas to that of W. Bogoras.

******Bogoras, W. op. cit; §§ 5 and 4 respectively.

here used). By these equations is shown not the actual character of these consonants but their *hypothetical* origin through the assimilation. As a matter of fact, one thing is palatalization and another thing is assimilation. The palatalization is a type of articulation, while the assimilation is a process, but palatalized consonants are as simple as non-palatalized. In Chukchi as in any other language there are some consonantic combinations which are common and others which are not, but it cannot be generalized that palatalized **t', d',** and some others are never met with in clusters, since there are "exceptions", **t'h** and **nd'**,* rather frequent occurrence in Chukchi. So the palatalization treated as "doubling" of consonants cannot be held responsible for avoidence of some consonants in clusters. Now, the reasoning *vice versa:* since L is not met with in clusters it may be supposed to be a "doubled" consonant through the assimilation "L<t+l and Ḷ<l+l or l+r".** But as the facts observed do not support the hypothesis and L and Ḷ are met with in clusters, these authors have introduced I, E, A, of their transcription, defined as "obscure, short vowels" everywhere when the clusters contradicting the above theory are met with. Since W. Bogoras has asserted that the dialect of the Maritime Chukchis is "almost identical with that of the Reindeer breeders of the Kalyma river"*** I shall quote some instances from the material gathered by another investigator, Madame Xrenov. I find in this material many cases of clusters, so for instance, **aLxva kaliet** (let me go away), **tynLrwēna** (the saw), **raLkăkwin** (the horizon), **tinLiLet** (the spectacles) **reLkos'ikăipe** (from the house), **tuaŋLtărekken** (to be busy).**** No obscure vowels have been found in these

*Ibid, p. 652, footnotes 1 and 2.

This supposition is in flat contradition with the description of **L and **Ḷ** where "back of the tongue is pressed against the hard palate."

***Ibid. p. 639; where he also explains "the work on the Chukche is also facilitated by the fact that this language has no dialects."

****There are also some instances of clusters **t'** not only with **h.** e.g. **rylt'i** (the wing). To the same class of cases must be related all cases of **lt'** (very common in Chukchi) where t' is palatalized, but has been understood by W. Bogoras as not palatalized **t**. This is a very common mistake on the part of investigators familiar with the Russian language taking as starting point the Russian orthographic system, where the syllable "ti" is presumed to contain t' palatalized. The last remark holds good for palatalized d', and ǯ'.

cases, though short vowels and glides do exist in the Maritime dialect. In Bogoras-Boas analysis of L these "obscure vowels" make a bridge between the theory and facts. The consonant **L** cannot be thus regarded as "double consonant" in Reindeer Chukchi, just as it is simple in Maritime Chukchi and Lolo, in the latter two languages its articulation and sound production being identical.

In the Maritime Chukchi dialect, in the Reindeer Chukchi as well, **L** alternates with **tl**. In Koriak, as W. Bogoras says, it has changed into Ḷ and, as it may be seen from other examples, into l.* Yet, as this consonant is sometimes treated as "cluster" "lh" in Koriak (Kamenskoye) it is found (ḷñ) **ln'** which is due to a general process of transition of tenues into mediae lenes also nasalization and palatalization. In the form of **tl** it is also found in Aleut.** In Kamchadal this consonant has altered: L (Chukchi)→**tl** and **tč** (Kamchadal).*** There are some indirect evidences of former existence of this consonant in Gilak, as for instance, the occurrence of **tl** and **lx** not so frequent a phenomenon as it is in other Palaeasiatic languages.**** In this language shows a definite tendency for cutting off final vowels, and omitting them (especially according to L. Sternberg's records) when possible, the phonetic system as a whole is somewhat different as compared with other Palaeasiatic languages.

[When this manuscript went into press, the writer was away in Canton and was not in a position to supervise the reading of the proofs, or to correct some possible errors in the manuscript of the rest of this article. As, however the publication of the present issue is urgently wanted for, we deem it desirable to publish this article as far as here for the time being.—Editor].

*Cf. Bogoras, W. op. cit. 16. According to his description the Koriak consonant is somewhat different as compared with the Chukchi L.

**W. Jochelson, Archæological, p. 129, where he defines it as "lateral affricative sound" met with in Atka dialect. Unfortunately I have no other publications of this author at hand.

***W. Bogoras, op. cit. 678, § 21, 7.

****Cf. W. Grube and L. Sternberg.

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Editorial Note: For the convenience of those who are used to the International Phonetic Alphabet only, a table of equivalence between the notation of this article and the I P A is appended here. The form of I P A is based on a pamphlet called *Lautzeichen und Ihre Anwenduug in Verschiedenen Sprachgebieten* (Berlin, 1928), by D. Jones, and the equivalence is based on the definitions of symbols given in this article.

In This Article	I P A	In This Article	I P A
a	ɑ	*č*	tʃ,tʂ(?)
ä	ɛ,æ	*č′*	tɕ
e	e,ɛ	*ʒ*	dz
è	ɨ(?)	*ǯ*	dʒ,dʐ(?)
i	i	*ǯ′*	dʑ
y	ᵻ(?)	*k*	k
o	o,ɔ	*g*	ɡ
ö	ø,œ	*x*	x
u	u,ʊ	*γ*	ɣ
———		*m*	m
b	b	*n*	n
p	p	*ŋ*	ŋ
w	w	*l*	l
v	v	*λ*	ɭ
f	f	*ɬ*	ɬ(?)
t	t	*h*	ɦ
d	d	*j*	j
s	s	*L*	ɮ
z	z	*□′*	□̊
š	ʃ,ʂ(?)	*□˙*	□h, □ʻ
š′	ɕ	*□̄*	□ː
ž	ʒ	*□̆*	□̆
c	ts		

戰國文籍中之篇式書體　一個短記

傅斯年

(一)

譬如說，「管子書是假的」，這句話和說「管子書是眞的」同樣的有毛病。假如在後來歷史觀念作者觀念大明之時，出了一部管子書；裏面並不顯然出來些管子的謚，桓公的謚，管子死後事，而題曰，「春秋時齊相潁川人管仲撰，」以問世，被人考核了一下子，原來是一部做了售世的書，這然後說，「這部書是假的」。若管子書中，引老子，引戰國末年事，稱桓公的謚法，稱管仲的死後事，本是齊人託管子之功名而箸之書，只是當時的一種文體，他自己先不曾說是眞的，戰國時也不會有題「齊相管仲撰」的事，又何勞我們答他曰「是假的」。旣有一個梁任公先生，硬說管子那個人做了管子那些書，便應該有人回答他說，管子不曾做了這些篇的一個字。說到這樣好到這樣。若進一步去說，管子書是假的，則先須假定戰國時人已有精嚴的箸者觀念，先須假定戰國時這些篇出來的時候上邊寫着「齊桓公相管仲撰」。這樣假定當然是不可以的。管子這部書現在所見的集合，乃是劉向的事，其中篇章是齊學之會集，書中直接稱道管仲的篇章，在戰國託於人而出來，也不過是自居爲管仲之學之後世，別人敘論他，也不過可說「愼輕重，貴權衡，因禍爲福，古之道術有在于是者。齊人聞管仲之傳說而悅之，作爲……。」果然我們充管仲晏子是假書一類話，則國語論語孟子墨子莊子等等無不是假書，因爲國語當然不是孔子所稱之左丘明寫的，論語當然沒有一個字是孔子寫的，孟子書稱梁惠王襄王之謚當然也是他的弟子記的。墨子中最墨子者，也劈頭就說「子墨子言曰」，中間又說「是以子墨子言曰」，莊子更是漢朝人所集合，魏晉人所編印的。那麼，眞書只剩了呂覽，還要減去月令了。若說這些書裏有些眞話，眞材料，則我們又焉能保管晏書中沒有一點眞話，眞材料，一切都是度的差別罷了。我們這樣 ad absurdum 一看，可以確知我們切不可以後來人箸書之觀念論戰國文籍。總而言之：

（1）　戰國時「箸作者」之觀念不明瞭。

(2) 戰國時記言書多不是說者自寫，所記只是有遠有近有切有不相干罷了。

(3) 戰國書除呂覽外，都只是些篇，沒有成部的書，戰國書之成部，是漢朝人集合的。

這層意思，我們以下說來好像不厭其詳者，實因爲了解戰國文籍之成書性，是分析戰國文籍的一個前提。

(二) 記言——著論——成書

著述脫離了官書的地步，而成私人著作，我們現在可見之最早者，是論語。論語是記言的。論語的體裁現在看了未免奇怪，除很少的幾段記得較豐充以外，每一段話，只記幾句，前無因，後無果。在我們現在固已不知春秋末年情景，其不懂得，猶可說，乃漢儒對於論語上的話，也有好些像是不懂得何所爲而發的樣子。且如「禮與其奢也寧儉，喪與其易也寧戚，」一類的話，若不附帶着「本事」，不和「喪欲速貧，死欲速朽，」發生同樣的誤會嗎？（見檀弓）記言記到沒頭沒尾，不附帶口說便使人不懂得，而一經展轉，便生誤會，決然不是一種妥當的記言法。再試看論語中的言，每段常含着很多的意思，有時顯出語長而所記者短的樣子。且論語成書大約在曾子弟子時去孟子時已不遠，孟子便是那樣汪洋大論，雖說孟子是個「戰國辯士」，談言微中與信口開合者不同，然孔子也是常說話而做東西南北之人者，若他說的話都像論語所記那樣子，恐怕他所專要見的公侯上大夫下大夫中，懂得他的真少啦！這樣看來，論語成書時代，文書之物質尚難得，一段話只能寫下個綱目，以備忘記，而詳細處則憑口說，到了戰國中年，文書的工具大便宜了，於是乎記長篇大論如孟子莊子書那樣子的可能了，遂由簡約的記言進而爲鋪排的記言，更可成就設寓的記言。記言是戰國文體的步初。論語，孟子，莊子中若干部分，晏子，管子中若干部分，墨子書中的演說體，以及兼記事記言的國語，都屬於這一類。

但一段思想不必有機會言之而出，而設寓的記言有時不信人，有時又大費事，於是乎舍去記言之體而據題抒論。史記荀卿列傳，「是時諸侯多辯士，如荀卿之徒，著書布天下。」現在看荀卿的書，好些不是記言，而是據題爲論者，這樣著篇，實是記言之一變，由對語(Dialogue)進而爲單語(Monologue)這樣體裁，恐怕戰國中期才

有 現在戰國末年書，如商君書，荀子，韓非子，及管子之一部，大體上屬於這一類。這是戰國諸子文體演進之第二步。

著論雖已不是記言，但獨立的論，仍然只有篇的觀念，沒有書的觀念。戰國晚年五德六數之義盛行，人們著書當趨於系統化。慎到著十二論，（見史記）這個數目是很整齊的，而又以齊物爲首，（見莊子天下篇）或者這是做全部書的開始。但我們現在不見慎子全書，不能作決定。而呂不韋之八覽六論十二紀二十餘萬言，乃成一部全始要終的書，不是些散篇了。八覽六論十二紀，六爲秦之聖數，八則卦數，十二則記天之數，這三個數八，六，十二，也都是在當時有意義的整數。這部呂子真是中國第一部整書，以前只是些散篇而已。這個體裁雖始於戰國末，然這樣的系統著作尚非依傍大財力不可，故漢朝人之繼續者，始有劉安，在體裁上淮南子是「青出於藍而青於藍」的呂氏春秋。太史公未必富，但有異常的精力，也許武帝時文書的物質更廉了，於是百三十篇又是一部要去貫天地人的通書。十表像天干，十二本紀像地支，書八章像八卦，三十世家取老子三十輻共一轂之語，七十列傳之數亦取一個豐長的整數。從此以後，系統的著書乃更多，周禮之成書，一往整齊，下至如太玄，繩子長者如漢書，乃至字書之說文解字，都在那裏有始有終，託於系統哲學啦。

更把上文寫成一表如下

記言之書 →	成之篇書 →	系統之書
(一) 因受文書材料之限制但記一言之綱目者如論語 (二) 豐長的記言如孟子 (三) 託言如莊子 (四) 故事之製作如韓子說林	由記言一變即成著論	由著論之相爲終始即成一系之書

蘇格拉底有語無文，猶之孔子時。柏拉圖依師說散爲無窮盡之對話，對話亦記言。亞里士多德乃真著書。在中國一二百年中之變遷，在希臘則師生三代各代表之，這頗是一個文體進化的平行現象。

問曰 因文體之演進，文詞之內容會不會受影響的？答曰：這是不免的。文辭之

由記言而著論，由著論而成書，是由自然的話語到了較不自然的斲飾辭句。說話固可以抽象，然總不能忘了聽的人之直接了解，說話固可以鋪排，然總不能忘了聽的人之捉摸得住，一經離了純粹記言的地位，文法可以代語法，泛詞可以代切詞。戰國子書中頗有不少白話，而荀子已是很簡約的文言，呂氏春秋已有些無話說話的油腔滑調，入漢而著作者，更都是文言了。(此處用文言乃如所謂 Kunstsprache 與古文不同)

十八年二月

敦煌劫餘錄序

陳 寅 恪

一時代之學術，必有其新材料與新問題。取用此材料，以研求問題，則為此時代學術之新潮流。治學之士得預於此潮流者，謂之預流（借用佛教初果之名）。其未得預者，謂之未入流。此古今學術史之通義，非彼閉門造車之徒所能同喻者也。敦煌學者，今日世界學術之新潮流也。自發見以來，二十餘年間，東起日本，西迄法英，諸國學人，各就其治學範圍，先後咸有所貢獻。吾國學者，其撰述得列於世界敦煌學著作之林者，僅三數人而已。夫敦煌在吾國境內，所出經典又以中文為多，吾國敦煌學著作，較之他國轉獨少者，固因國人治學，罕具通識，然亦未始非以敦煌所出經典，涵括至廣，散佚至眾，迄無詳備之目錄，不易檢校其內容，學者縱欲有所致力，而憑藉末由也。新會陳援庵先生垣，往歲嘗取敦煌所出摩尼教經，以考證宗教史。其書精博，世皆讀而知之矣。今復應中央研究院歷史語言研究所之請。就北平圖書館所藏敦煌寫本八千餘軸，分別部居，稽覈同異，編為目錄，號曰敦煌劫餘錄。誠治敦煌學者不可缺之工具也。書既成，命寅恪序之。或曰敦煌者吾國學術之傷心史也。其發見之佳品，不流入於異國，即秘藏於私家。茲國有之八千餘軸，蓋當時唾棄之賸餘，精華已去，糟粕空存，則此殘篇故紙，未必實有繫於學術之輕重者在。今日之編斯錄也，不過聊以寄其憤慨之思耳！是說也，寅恪有以知其不然。請舉數例以明之。摩尼教經之外，如八婆羅夷經所載吐蕃乞里提足贊普之詔書，姓氏錄所載貞觀時諸郡著姓等，有關於唐代史事者也。佛說禪門經，馬鳴菩薩圓明論等，有關於佛教教義者也。佛本行集經演義，維摩詰經菩薩品演義，八相成道變，地獄變等，有關於小說文學史者也。佛說孝順子修行成佛經，首羅比丘見月光童子經等，有關於佛教故事者也。維摩詰經頌，唐睿宗玄宗讚文等，有關於唐代詩歌之佚文者也。其他如佛說諸經雜緣喻因由記中彌勒之對音，可與中亞發見之古文互證。六朝舊譯之原名，藉此推知。破昏怠法所引龍樹論，不見於日本石山寺寫本龍樹五明論中，當是舊譯別本之佚文。唐蕃翻經大德法成辛酉年（當是唐武宗會昌元年）出麥與人抄錄經典，及周廣順八年道宗往

西天取經，諸紙背題記等。皆有關於學術之考證者也。但此僅就寅恪所曾讀者而言，其爲數尚不及全部寫本百分之一，而世所未見之奇書佚籍已若是之衆，儻綜合並世所存燉煌寫本，取質量二者相與比較，而平均通計之，則吾國有之八千餘軸。比於異國及私家之所藏，又何多讓焉。今後斯錄既出，國人獲茲憑藉，宜益能取用材料以研求問題，勉作燉煌學之預流。庶幾內可以不負此歷劫僅存之國寶，外有以襄進世界之學術於將來，斯則寅恪受命綴詞所不勝大願者也。

說𡕛

丁山

曲禮"凡家造，祭器為先，犧賦為次，養器為後，無田祿者不設祭器"。祭器者，鼎、鬲、尊、卣、觚、觶、壺、彝之屬也。祭統"銘者，自名也，自名以稱揚其先祖之美而明著之後世者也"。美其先祖之辭，則曰"作□□寶鐘，不顯祖考先王"（如宗周鐘，例多不備舉）"作朕皇祖皇考尊鼎"（禹他……）"作祖□寶鼎"（……）"作朕烈祖□寶簋"（……）"作朕……皇祖文考"（……）"用作文考□□寶鼎"（伯晨鼎）。其自名也，則先著其國名，次及其私名（如……），或先著其官爵（太史友甗），或先詳其族氏（如……），所謂"以比其身，以重其國家"也。若詳其製器之由，美其先祖之德，或數十言，或數百言，文章爾雅，非賢者有所不能，此商器之通則也。殷人尚質，銘率不文，自天子至于大夫，其作祭器也，但著作器者名與其先人之廟號，曰"□作父□彝"、"□作且□彝"而已。其畫鳥獸蟲魚干戈弓矢者，則……人名於"且□""父□"之上下，而不言作者，其例與"□作□彝"同。此等畫形，皆有實義，非作器者族氏，即殷商人族氏，即其官爵；非其官爵，即諸侯食地之名。乃自宋之呂、薛，以至于清之阮、錢，三數人，凡作𡕛形者謂之子，其下從龜謂之子孫，從貝亦謂之子孫，推而廣之，凡不可識不可知之形而皆從𡕛者，幾無不疑為傳之子孫永遠寶用也，而以"子孫"解之。問其故，則曰𡕛上從Ⅱ，象析木，𡕛象子抱孫。曲禮所謂"君子抱孫不抱子，言孫可以為王父尸，子不可以為父尸"，曾子問所謂"祭成喪者必有尸，尸必以孫，孫幼則使人抱之也"。問將何以知象析木？則曰"說文鼎字云，易卦巽木于下者為鼎，象析木以炊也"，明以目下從𡕛為析木形（王復齋鐘鼎款識商父辛卣……），蓋取析薪負荷之義（積古齋鐘鼎款識卷三，商父戊敦跋），以𡕛象子抱孫，知凡從𡕛者皆象子孫若爾。輾轉相沿，習非成是。然則欲知𡕛非象子，必先辨𡕛之非"析子孫"矣。

𡕛之見于鼎彝者，其形不一：有作𡕛（……）者，有作𡕛（……）者，此無所省變也。若父癸爵作𡕛，父丁鼎作𡕛，則稍有所省矣。若妣己彝作𡕛（……），父己爵作𡕛（攈古錄卷一之二第廿二葉），則大有所省矣。若父丁鼎作𡕛（薛氏款識法帖卷一），鐘文作𡕛（攈古錄金文卷一之二第十一葉），則大有所變矣。若盤文作𡕛（殷文存下第二十八葉），則析為二字矣。王國維獨據𡕛𡕛省形為之說曰"此乃一字，象大人抱子置几間之形，子者尸也。其上兩旁之

[illegible]則周禮所謂[illegible]古[illegible]也，[illegible]以下[illegible]古[illegible]也。[illegible]上，又"具"[illegible]也，故[illegible]有二[illegible]，一[illegible]下[illegible]古文[illegible]，具，又以[illegible]字，篆文[illegible]字與古文[illegible]字[illegible]作[illegible]面[illegible]文[illegible]二形[illegible]作從[illegible]，古[illegible]字[illegible]之形[illegible]古之[illegible]象[illegible]。又[illegible]以[illegible]古文[illegible]形之變，又[illegible]非[illegible]明[illegible]，[illegible]文[illegible]。[illegible]可謂[illegible]古[illegible]之形[illegible]也，[illegible]天人[illegible]？[illegible]不[illegible]文為然也，[illegible]一字之[illegible]。若：

"[illegible]"（[illegible]）

"[illegible]"（[illegible]九[illegible]）

"[illegible]"（[illegible]廿九[illegible]）

"[illegible]"（[illegible]十九[illegible]）

[illegible]之[illegible]，[illegible]上之[illegible]上之字也，[illegible]字[illegible]？[illegible]：

"[illegible]"（[illegible]第廿一葉）

"[illegible]"（[illegible]第二葉）

"[illegible]"（[illegible]第十一[illegible]）

[illegible]之[illegible]，[illegible]不[illegible]，[illegible]文[illegible]？[illegible]上從[illegible]，[illegible]一[illegible]二字。今[illegible]之[illegible]先知[illegible]為何字？[illegible]為何字！

以[illegible]一[illegible]之[illegible]一作[illegible]（[illegible]第[illegible]）一[illegible]作[illegible]（[illegible]廿二[illegible]十[illegible]），[illegible]古文[illegible]古[illegible]之[illegible]，[illegible]之非[illegible]之正字。[illegible]曰"[illegible]"[illegible]"[illegible]"。[illegible]古之[illegible]之[illegible]也。[illegible]中華大學[illegible]。[illegible]非[illegible]古今[illegible]之[illegible]也。非[illegible]古[illegible]。[illegible]人[illegible]之，[illegible]字[illegible]。[illegible]義[illegible]直。[illegible]一字[illegible]以[illegible]下[illegible]

訓鼎可也，謂鼎為俗形則不可。鼎孫詒讓謂象鏽蝕之餘云（頌鼎跋及注）爾文如斧形，蓋半白半黑，似斧及白而身黑（鄭注及書偽孔傳說並略同，金文之黹即黼形也）。又斧字一及字出而為叉，以寄于柯。古畫斧之形，蓋當為什象文約略寫之，則為片，省之則為H，是其畫上下出者即斧也，直畫有豎者即柯也，片者上下各一斧，同理也柯左右相背合而成鼎，則成四斧，後世通行黼字，而象始象形遂不可復識」（名原上）。此較說鼎為合矣，然無以解乎黹之合義。至謂鼎者片之左右相對形，求鼎之形象而不得，能知片之初義，斯知鼎形何象矣。片字許書失紀，後之從事補苴者，或曰象木之左半（繫傳引李陽冰說），或曰牀之古文（吳元滿六書正義），或曰象方鑿斧之斯（吳大澂字說），或曰古牆字（王廷鼎字義新證），或曰爿之省體，爿古文疾字（王筠說文五翼），此一是非，彼一是非，驗以金石古文之偏旁，十不四三合。考卜辭言片者二見：一曰「片牧檢方」（殷契四第四十五葉），一曰「丁亥卜貞片求今」（殷契六第三葉），皆為國名，不能自其上下文義徵求其初義，然自卜辭所見從片之字若𤕤牀牆將等皆有倚恃之義考之，則片雖讀近于牀而非牀字，雖近于牆，而非牆字，雖近于扆，而於其字則象斧扆之形，較得其實。

說文戶部「扆，戶牖之間謂之扆，从戶，衣聲」。釋名釋牀帳「扆，倚也，在後所依倚也」。扆一作依，儀禮士虞禮「宗人告食無事，則出戶負依南面」，注「戶牖之間謂之依，此士大夫之家有依也，其在天子，則曰斧依」。覲禮「天子設斧依于戶牖之間，左右几」，注「依，如今綈素屏風也，有繡斧文，所以示威也。斧謂之黼」，故一作黼依。周禮春官司几筵「凡大朝覲，大饗射，凡封國命諸侯，王位設黼依，依前南鄉設左右玉几」，注「黼謂繡白黑采，以絳帛為質，依其制如屏風然，于依前為王設席，左右有几，優至尊也」。禮記明堂位「天子負斧依南鄉而立」，注「斧依為斧文屏風，于戶牖之間」。戶牖之間者，爾雅正義引李巡曰「謂牖之東，戶之西」，爾雅郭璞注曰「窗東戶西也，禮云，斧扆者，以其所在處名之」。金鶚禮箋曰「牖戶之間謂之扆，此以其所在處名之也。黼依所設非一地，故謂戶牖之間為扆則可，謂依必設于戶牖之間則不可」。胡培翬儀禮正義曰「云戶牖之間者，據後堂之室言之。古人宮室之制，前為堂，後為室，室之左右為東房西房，房有戶而無牖，室則戶牖俱有，戶在東，牖在西，皆在室之南壁，何宮謂之，故云以此為尊位，而設斧依于此」。如胡說則斧依有定在，因斧依所在而謂戶牖之間為扆。如金說則斧依無定在，因戶牖之間名扆，而屏風亦謂之扆。其說雖似，其實不同矣。考書顧命「狄設黼扆綴衣牖間南嚮」，漢書王莽傳作依，周禮注引亦作依，是以前此無扆字，許錫說戶牖之間曰扆，

因斧依所在為名者近似，象非斧扆之初字，實戶牖之間之本名也。斧扆之制，魏書李謐傳引鄭氏禮圖云："縱廣八尺，畫斧文于其上，今之屏風也。"北堂書鈔引三禮弓矢圖亦云："縱廣八尺，畫斧文而無柄，設而不用，今之屏風，則遺象也。"漢之屏風，皆有後版。周禮天官："掌次王大旅上帝，則張氈案，設皇邸。"鄭衆云："皇羽覆邸後版也。"玄謂："後版，屏風與？"賈公彥據以疏司几筵曰："黼扆，輔助白黑文而為斧形，此斧以大版為邸，即掌次皇邸。"孫詒讓亦謂邸為氈案後之植版，"凡物根柢必在後，故後版謂之邸"（周禮掌次疏）。後版謂之邸，大版亦謂之業。詩有瞽："設業設虡。"傳："業，大版也，所以飾栒為縣也，捷業如鋸齒，或曰畫之，植者為虡，衡者為栒。"明堂位："夏后氏之龍簨虡，殷之崇牙，周之璧翣。"注亦曰："簨虡，所以縣鐘磬也，橫曰簨，植曰虡，以大版為之謂之業。"業扆一聲之轉，大版謂之業，即謂之扆，則斧扆之扆非大版即後版，其以版為之實也審矣。許君言"版，判也，從片反聲。牘，書版也，從片賣聲。牑，牀版也，從片扁聲。"推而至于牖，牒，牘，牏，凡從片者，皆版意；而版片之音義俱近，則判木為片，即判木為版，版片實古今字也。古文筆勢不拘向背，弓本左向，有時向右作[illegible]；[illegible]本右向，有時向左作[illegible]；[illegible]木左向，有時向右作[illegible]；厂本右向，有時向左作[illegible]（以上各字俱見殷契），則片字今雖右向作片，古文亦可向左作爿。爿字雖不見許書，然爿字解云："倚也，人有疾病，象倚箸之形。"爿形近片，音義則俱同扆，是卜辭所見爿片，即倚箸之爿，亦即斧扆之扆矣。斧扆之扆，本象判木，不特說文爿字音義可證。說文"疒，病也，從爿矢聲。"卜辭疾但作[illegible]（戩壽堂文字卅四葉之五），象人血流滿體，負版寢息之形（詳後附釋疾）。說文"㝱，寐而有覺也，從宀從疒，夢聲。"卜辭㝱但作[illegible]（殷契八葉五），象人負版寢息，若有所見之形（詳後附釋㝱）。凡許書從爿之字，卜辭字但作爿，此片爿一字之證也。片為大版，不特㝱疾偏傍可證，古者天子大旅上帝，必設帡幪，帡幪之中，必設皇邸。卜辭幪字作[illegible]（鐵雲藏龜百葉），正象帷幕交覆中施植版之形（詳後附釋冡）；植版賈疏謂即斧扆，則斧扆植版異名而實同，片象植版，亦象斧扆，片之象斧扆也，此尤明證矣。

或片為爿，即是非字，片象斧扆，非豈有異？契乳為扉，門闔也（左傳襄廿八年"子尾抽桷擊扉三"注），為扉，隱也（儀禮士虞禮"匪用席"注）。字一作菲，荀子禮論"無幬絲歶縷翣，其貌以象菲帷幬尉也"注："或曰菲當為扉，隱也，謂隱奧之處也；或曰菲讀為扉，戶扇也。"戶扇也，門闔也，此斧扆之形變也；隱也者倚也，此斧扆之音變也（莊子齊物論"南郭子綦隱几而臥"，隱猶倚也，釋文云"隱，馮也"）。斧扆之為非，蓋猶不律之謂筆，明雉之謂鋗，晏子書夢之謂為灸，春秋物異之謂為部，凡古之名物一名而二音二字者，後人急讀之往往併為一字一音，所謂"緩言二音，急讀一

字矣。𦈢即非字，不特斧扆合音之足徵也。說文"𢍰，賦事也，從業，從八，八亦聲，讀若頒，一曰讀若非"，又曰"𣎵，艸木盛𣎵𣎵然也，從中，八聲，讀若輩。"輩諧非聲，讀若輩猶讀若非，非八古音本相近也。𢍰本從𦈢，字亦從八作𢍰，正八讀若非之比，𦈢不讀非，則何以借為八？以八非之聲近相假證𦈢之音讀，尤可斷言𦈢即非字。斧扆之左右相對曰非，天子之左輔右弼，一曰師保，禮記文王世子"師也者教之以事而喻諸德者也，保也者慎其身以輔翼之而歸諸道者也。"國有師保，猶室有斧扆，斧扆輔翼一聲之轉，然則保之從非作𠈃，正取其輔翼之義，不徒諧其聲，若諧八聲，雖不失其音，已失非輔之義，後世更展轉變移，一變為𠈃，再變為𠈃，三變為𠈃，復從人作保，不特非輔之義失，其音亦莫以知矣。音失而義亡，卜辭"保父"遂無人知其為"保父"，而謂𦈢象"子在几間"，或曰"人在牀上"，郢書燕說，其謬也遂不可以毫釐計。

𢍰下𠀠字，舊說象大人形，亦非也。大人之大，金文通作𡗕，其手下垂，後世所謂大字也。𠀠作兩手端舉高與首齊形，當即翼敬翼戴之本字。論語鄉黨"孔子在宗廟，揖所與立，左右手，衣前後，襜如也，趨進，翼如也"，集解引孔注及皇疏皆曰"翼如，端正也"。端正者敬也，故詩文王有聲"以燕翼子"，行葦"以引以翼"，周書程典"慎下必翼上"，周語"翼其上也"，傳注皆曰"翼敬也"。顧詩六月"有嚴有翼，共武之服"，傳"翼敬也"，晚叔旅鐘"嚴在上，翼在下，數𣪘熊熊，降旅多福"，翼敬字則作𠀠，亦作𠀠。春秋左氏昭九年傳"翼戴天子而加之以共"，杜注"翼佐也"，盂鼎"天翼臨子，法保先王"，翼佐字亦作𠀠，羌伯敦"乃祖克𠦪先王，翼自它邦"，翼戴字亦作𠀠。𠀠之與𠀠，不過頭上微異耳。若以單父辛尊作𠀠，𠙵伯鐘作𠀠，果卜辭作𠀠(後編下廿六葉)，篆文作𠀠例之，字之在商從■或口，後世易之為田者多矣，省𠀠作𠀠，此何足異？翼古亦通翌昱，爾雅釋地"南方有比翼鳥焉"，釋文"翼本作翌"，書金縢"王翼日乃瘳"，爾雅釋言注引作"翌日"，武成"越翼日癸巳"，召誥"若翼日乙卯，周公朝至于洛，越翼日戊午，乃社于新邑"，漢書律曆志王莽傳皆引作"翌日"。凡今本尚書作翼者，古文率以翌字代之，凡古文尚書作翌者，其在金文則從立作𥪰(盂鼎"雩若翌乙酉")，或省為𥪰(宰椃角"在六月，佳王廿祀翌有五")，其在卜辭則或從立作𥪰(後編上十二葉"翌日辛王其逸于𣿅亡𡆥")，或從日作𣌾(殷契八葉卅二"翌日酒𠦪冎")，或省之作𠀠(殷契一葉九"□午卜貞王賓外壬翌日亡尤")，𠀠(殷契七葉四十四"乙卯卜翌丙雨")，𠀠(後編上八葉"翌丁未不其易日")諸形。𠀠之為字與𠀠(愙齋廿二第十六葉父乙鐘)下之𠀠無異也，𠀠之為字，與𠀠(愙齋十八第八葉父己甗)左之𠀠亦無異也，然則𠀠亦𢍰之省形，𠀠之別體已。冊王國維謂"𠀠之初字，象毛髮𠀠𠀠之形"(集林六釋昱)，此謂即為翼之本字，說文"𦐊，翄也，從飛異聲，籀文翼，

冀篆文𦨵從北異聲，未作"異"，然若證所有異，許亦曰"翼，羽翼也"，羽翼之當是畀之本義，鳥翼有左右，故金文一作𦐧。自商末文獻以畀音近，亂通假為揚亂，復借"畀"字為羽翼字，而畀之本義亡，秦漢以還，借"畀"字為畀同字，復從羽于畀上以為鳥翅之專名，假借之為翼戴輔翼，而"畀"之本義失。至于之異，卜辭作"㚒"，從日畀聲，其本字也，金文作𢍰，古文尚書作翌，衛包改訂尚書作翼，亦借字也。以古文尚書之互用，證卜辭金文之通假，以畀"畀"之通假，證"畀"㚒之為一字，證㚒即翼戴翼戴之本字，此非臆必之辭，則卜辭"畀"字，亦可斷即翼之初形矣。辭曰"貞異不其爭來"，又曰"[illegible]"，"異"非人名必是國名，而𦦼為官名，抑為諸侯食地之名，亦于焉可說。

書序言"成王時，召公為保，周公為師"，大戴禮保傅亦言"周成王幼在襁褓之中，召公為大保，周公為太傅，太公為太師，保，保其身體，傅，傅之德義，師，導之教訓"，周初確有師保之官矣。君奭曰"在太甲時則有若保衡"，漢官儀曰"殷太甲時伊尹為太保"，卜辭亦數見"保父"，保父者猶酒誥之稱司馬為圻父，司徒為農父，司空為宏父，亦師保之尊稱，殷初確有太保之官矣，然而亦非"保異"也。尚書曰"保乂有殷"，詩譜曰"周公遷都于雒，召公保政於四方"，楚辭天問述周公東征之事亦曰"並驅擊翼，何以將之"？翼知卜辭所稱"貞異不其爭來"之異否？雖不可知，殷周之世，確有以異名其國者，然而亦非"保異"也。𦦼上吾知其為保，下吾知其為異，合而觀之，謂為官名既無徵，謂為國號亦無徵，則前言一名而從二字者，毋寧謂其一字，與其言"保異"合文，毋寧謂𦦼從保異聲，即冀之古文矣。何以徵之？說文言"冀，北方州也，從北異聲"，此固為禹貢"九州攸同"及周禮職方氏辨九州之國使同貫利"為說也。九州之說，不知誰始？史記嘗述鄒衍之說云"中國于天下乃八十一分之一耳。中國名赤縣，州內自有九州，禹貢之序九州是也，不得為州數。中國外如赤縣州者有九，乃謂九州也"，河圖括地象亦謂"天有九道，地有九州，天有九部八紀，地有九州八柱"，九州之名，近世學者頗多疑其出于周末陰陽家，則北方州名非冀之古義，亦晚周新說。楚辭九歌"覽冀州兮有餘，橫四海兮焉窮"，冀州猶言中國也。淮南墬形訓"正中冀州曰中土"，高誘注"四方之主，故曰中土"。山海經大荒北經"蚩尤作兵伐黃帝，黃帝乃令應龍攻之冀州之野"，周書嘗麥解則曰"蚩尤逐帝，爭于涿鹿之阿，黃帝執蚩尤，殺之于中冀"，顧氏日知錄因之謂"古之天子，常居冀州，後人因以冀州為中國之號"，故書皆稱中國為冀州，或曰中冀，或曰中土，則冀之為言中也，非北方州之名。史記孝武紀"冀至殊庭焉"，索隱曰"冀，漢書作幾"，易屯"君子幾不如舍"，釋文引子夏傳幾作近，中孚"月幾望"釋文

稱京大幾亦有近，幾近雙聲而冀幾對轉，故爾雅李巡注訓冀曰"近也"。穀梁桓五年傳"鄭同姓之國也，在乎冀州，于是不服，為天子病"，范寧注"冀州則近京師，雖近猶不能服，則疏遠者可知"。釋文曰"冀州，言去京師近也"。楊士勛疏亦曰"冀州者天下之中州，自唐虞及夏殷皆都焉，則冀州是天子之常居，以鄭近王畿，故舉冀州為說"。冀之為言近也，言其近王城也。王城者四方之主，天下之中也，近乎中土謂之冀，亦不得以冀為北方州名。冀非北方州名，其字何以從北？北殆即非作北，傳寫作北，形皆近非（非字見金器）。史記言"伯益之後，大駱生非子，周孝王時封為附庸，邑于秦"，彝文"非子"則作"北子"（舊說北讀為邶，謂邶伯鼎、北子鼎）。春秋宣元年"宋公陳侯衛侯曹伯會晉師于棐林，伐鄭"，左傳言"會于棐林"，然又言"楚蒍賈救鄭，遇于北林"，北林當即棐林之誤（棐下之木，蓋偏旁為林名而加，棐上之非，豈誤為北乎？抑非乎？則冀上之北，殆亦非之形誤。冀一省作𦥯，再省作𠔀，若省其中之口作𡖔，謂冀字乎？謂冀省乎？書皋陶謨"臣作朕股肱耳目，予欲左右有民，汝翼"，史記夏本紀"汝翼"則作"汝輔之"，楚語"求賢良以翼之"，韋注亦曰"翼，輔也"。天子輔翼有三公有四鄰，四鄰者，尚書大傳云"前曰疑，後曰丞，左曰輔，右曰弼，天子有問無以對，責之疑；可志而不志，責之丞；可正而不正，責之輔；可揚而不揚，責之弼"（禮記文王世子疏引）。三公者，古周禮說"大師大傅大保，無官屬，與王同職，故曰坐而論道"（五經異義引）。師保輔弼在左右天子，如車之輔，如鳥之翼，然則冀本輔翼之專名，展轉省變，誤非為北，始有冀字，冀非從北也，似北聲近，北亦從之省誤（冀冀古通用，荀子修身"行而供冀，非漬淖也"，楊注云"冀當為翼"是）。再廷冀敦冀字作𦥯，蓋又因冀為形，以冀望為義，非所謂中冀中土冀近王城之冀，亦非予之所謂保翼為冀也。保翼為冀，冀者殷周間諸侯有國之名，亦非中土中國之號也。何以徵之？左傳僖二年"晉將伐虢，使荀息假道于虞，曰冀為不道，入自顛軨，伐鄍三門，冀之既病，則亦唯君故"。杜注"冀，國名，皮氏縣東北有冀亭"。水經注"汾水又逕冀亭南"，下引京瑒說亦曰"今河東皮氏縣有冀亭，古之冀國所都也"。冀之立國，史無明文，羅泌路史國名紀附諸陶唐氏之後，以為其國始于堯舜之際，其說不根，其事難信。然以 一字攷之，卜辭云"貞冀不其子來"，"貞冀受若方"，冀均似冀之省形，又以冀幾古常通用攷之，逸周書商誓言"幾耿肅執智典之舊官人"，幾當為冀，則冀實殷時國名。殷之舊國，若蒲姑、昆吾、密須、甲父、無逢、姺邳，至于周家，皆降為附庸，冀國之名，春秋之前，若書若詩，若王會，並鮮稱道者，蓋其時位在附庸，不能朝覲，有事則附大國以聞已。冀之亡也，亦不知何時？僖廿五年左傳言"晉文公遷原伯于冀，趙衰為原大夫"，春秋之初蓋已隨虞歸晉（顧棟高春秋

大事表言"冀初併于虞，虞亡隸晉，是也。"入晉之後，初為郤芮食田，謂之冀芮，尋以謀弒文公被奪。及"臼季使過冀，見冀缺耨，其妻饁之，敬，歸言于文公，以為下軍大夫。反自箕，襄公以一命命郤缺為卿，復與之冀"（僖三十三年左傳），冀遂長為郤氏食邑。食邑所在，必郤墓之所在也，以冀缺之墓，尋郤氏之邑，必不遠也；以郤氏食邑，尋冀國故都，亦不遠也。然冀缺墓元和郡縣圖志、太平寰宇記俱言在"和川縣南三十六里"。和川縣南即冀氏縣，元和圖志又言"冀氏、和川，皆漢猗氏縣地"。猗氏縣漢書地理志屬河東郡，而未詳其命名之由。惟孔叢子言"猗頓魯之窮士也，聞朱公富而往問術焉。朱公告之曰：'子欲速富，當畜五牸。'于是乃適西河，大畜牛羊于猗氏之南。十年之間，貲擬王公，以富興于猗氏，故稱猗頓"，則猗氏者固春秋戰國間之著族，然而國語、國策皆不言猗氏所在。猗氏豈冀氏之音轉乎？又考黎□之器出土之地，呂大臨考古圖言"□父乙彝得于壽陽紫金山，其蓋得于雒之硤石下"。雒之硤石，今不可攷，或云雒係絳字傳刊之誤，則其蓋實出澮水上游翼城縣境。壽陽縣寰宇記屬之河東道并州，云"本漢榆次縣地"。榆次縣地理志屬之太原郡，云"涂水鄉，晉大夫知徐吾邑；梗陽鄉，魏戊邑"。梗陽、涂水皆在今太原縣南，則紫金山，非雁門附近之山，而謂沁源縣境之山。沁源者，沁水之源也，其地在翼城縣東北，而南與和川接壤。和川之南即冀氏縣地，自冀氏至于沁源不過三百里，自沁源至翼城不過二百里許。使以冀郤墓之所在，尋郤氏食邑為不誤，則沁源、冀氏之間正冀國之野；使以冀從北而字通于翼之說亦不誤，則翼侯所都或即古冀國之故都（史記晉世家言"昭侯封成師于曲沃，曲沃邑大于翼。翼，晉君都邑也"，不言孝侯改絳曰翼，疑翼亦古名），紫金山正冀國之望，□父乙彝正冀國遺物，□之為冀，此其顯徵。冀東臨沁水，西瀕汾河，此所謂兩河之間也。但爾雅則謂"兩河之間曰冀州"，呂覽有始亦曰"兩河之間為冀州，晉也"。冀州之名，豈因于冀國乎？舊史又言"堯都平陽，舜都蒲阪，禹都安邑"（尚書正義語），"古帝王之都多在河東、河北，故謂河北為河內，河南為河外"（史記正義語），則冀距歷代帝王之都，遠者不過三二百里，近者不過百十里。冀在尚世，正在畿甸之內。即以"河亶甲居相，且乙遷于邢"言，自殷河北各都至于冀國之野，最遠不過五六百里。商頌曰"邦畿千里，惟民所止"，則冀在殷世，亦不失為畿內大國，是冀之為名，亦以其地處中土，密邇王城，猶鄭之于周，自謂"在乎冀州"矣。京璠、杜預並以皮氏縣東北之冀亭當冀國之故都，不特失冀國所在，亦且失冀為中國之義。高誘注呂覽"兩河之間為冀州"云"東至清河，西至西河"，郭璞注爾雅"兩河"云"自東河至西河"，不特失冀州為中國之義，亦且失近乎京師之說。夏書曰"惟彼陶唐，帥彼天常，

有此冀方"冀方者冀國也,豈冀之立國遠在夏殷前世乎?吾說夏禮,杞不足徵也,吾說殷禮,有宋存焉,徵之彝器從冀者之衆,則吾敢斷言冀爲殷世之大國。

禮含文嘉"殷爵三等,周爵五等,各有宜也,"白虎通義"殷爵三等,公侯伯也。"按呂覽"紂爲無道,殺梅伯而醢之,殺鬼侯而脯之,以禮諸侯于廟,"明堂位曰"紂脯鬼侯,"楚辭亦曰"梅伯道醢,"是殷有侯伯也。惟公爵未聞。茲攷旅僕鼎銘:

"隹八月初吉,辰在乙卯,公錫旅僕,旅用作文父日乙寶尊彝,冀"(愙齋三第十一葉)。

所稱"公錫旅僕"公當謂冀君,則殷確有公爵矣。鄭玄王制注言"公爲殷之一等爵,"冀君稱公,其國亦必一等國矣。周之封建,"王者之後爲公,及有功之諸侯,大者地方五百里,其次侯四百里,其次伯三百里,其次子二百里,其次男百里,所因殷之諸侯,亦以功黜陟之,"(王制注)則冀國公爵,地方五百里,正跨沁汾兩河之間。雖然,諸侯稱王,見于古彝器銘識者亦不一二覯,徐楚之器無論已。矢伯爵也,散氏盤銘則謂之矢王,彔伯戎羌伯𧴀皆伯爵也,其作𣪘則竝稱王若司。蓋古時天澤之分未嚴,諸侯在其國中,自有稱王之俗,即徐楚吳楚之稱王者亦皆沿周初舊制,不得盡以僭竊目之"(王國維集林補遺古諸侯稱王說)則父甲鼎銘:

"唯正月既望癸酉,王獸于眂𣪘,王令口執𠦪休,善用作父甲𩰫彝,冀"(愙齋六第八葉)。

師𪗾鼎銘:

"乙亥子錫小子𪗾王商貝十朋,師𪗾用作父己寶尊,冀"(奇觚室二第一葉)。

所稱"王獸于眂𣪘"王商貝十朋"王皆冀君之稱,不得謂爲殷周之天子;此冀爵之可攷者也。王制"大國三卿,皆命于天子,下大夫五人,上士二十七人,"卿者卿士也。詩商頌"降予卿士,"大雅"百辟卿士,"鄭箋"卿士,卿之有事者,"商周之間,故皆謂之"卿事"毛公鼎"及茲卿士寮,大史寮,"卜辭"卜在佳(?)卿事"(殷契二第二十三葉)"卿事"即命于天子之卿也。乙未𣪘銘:

"乙未卿事錫小子師貝二百,用作父丁尊𣪘,冀"(愙齋七第四葉)。

則冀有卿士且有小子諸官矣。小子者,周禮夏官云"掌祭祀羞羊肆,羊殽肉豆,而掌珥于社稷,祈于五祀,凡沈辜侯禳飾其牲,釁邦器及軍器,"要而言之,但主祭祀之小事,未知鼎𣪘銘中所稱小子與周官之小子同否?此冀之職官可攷者也。亦有不著作器之由與作器者之職,但曰"冀口作且口寶器"者:

"冀𢼊作且癸寶尊彝"(彝文見殷文存上第十八葉)

"冀𢦚伯癸寶尊彝"(奇觚室十七第九葉)。

"㠱攸父辛彝"（攈古錄卷二之一第八葉）。

"㠱妹㝬作且辛彝"（觶文。愙齋廿第十三葉。）。

"㠱矛"（觚文。愙齋廿一第七葉）。

"㠱遹"（觚文。攈古錄卷一之二第五一葉）。

㠱下之牧、䩨、攸、妹㝬、矛、遹等字，疑皆㠱君之名，曰"且□"、"父□"、"伯□"皆其先君之廟號。殷人死無謚，即以死日所值之干支為廟號，後人祀之也即以其忌日，湯廟號太乙，以乙日祀，高宗廟號武丁，以丁日祀，非因生之日為名，乃因忌日為廟號也（詳王國維殷禮徵文。）而吳大澂謂"父辛為父廟第八器，且癸為祖廟第十器"，以干支為大廟中禮器之號次，甚矣其謬也。㠱之下亦有不著作器者名，但紀其國名與先君廟號者：

"㠱作父乙彝"（卣文。愙齋卷十八第十六葉。）

"㠱父乙"（敦文。愙齋七第十八葉。）

"㠱父丁"（敦文。愙齋七第十八葉。）

"㠱父丁"（鼎文。殷文存上第九葉。）

"㠱父己"（爵文。愙齋廿三葉。）

"㠱父癸"（觶文。殷文存下第二十九葉。）

"㠱父己母癸"（卣文。殷文存下第三十九葉。）

㠱下或有作字或省作字，與"㠱牧作且癸彝"、"㠱攸父辛彝"同一文例。亦有著作器者名于上，而附國號于銘文末者：

"婦闆作文姑日癸尊彝㠱"（敦文。愙齋廿一第十葉。）

"商婦作彝㠱"（鼎文。殷文存上第九葉）。

"向作乃尊彝㠱"（卣文。愙齋十九第十四葉）。

"且母作乙尊彝㠱"（卣文。攈古錄卷二之一第三十五葉。此銘疑當讀曰"㠱作且母乙尊彝"。）

"女子小臣兒作己尊彝㠱"（卣文。攈古錄卷二之一第七十三葉。此銘疑當讀曰"㠱女子小臣作兒己尊彝"。）

"邑婦屖彝㠱"（爵文。愙齋廿三第二十二葉。）

"亞絅冀作父癸寶尊彝，㠱"（卣文。攈古錄卷二之一第八十葉。）

"作世婦尊彝㠱"（鼎文。愙齋三第五葉。此銘疑當讀曰"㠱世婦作尊彝"。）

亦有"父口"、"且口"與糞並列，其文左讀則"父口糞"，右讀則"糞父口"者，依卜辭自左向右讀之例，皆曰"糞作父口"者：

"糞父丁"（卣文。愙齋十八第十七葉。）

"糞父父丁"（尊文。愙齋十三第二十葉。）

"糞文十丁"（罍文。愙齋十三第二十二葉。）

"糞父戊"（爵文。殷文存下第二十二葉。）

"糞且己"（爵文。殷文存下第二十二葉。）

"糞父辛"（觶文。殷文存下第二十九葉。）

"糞父戊"（觚文。愙齋廿一第七葉。）

"糞母口"（爵文。愙齋廿三第五葉。）

"糞父己"（爵文。攈古錄卷一之二，第廿二葉。）

凡此糞、糞、糞等形，皆在"且口"、"父口"之上，釋以"析子孫"，固不可通，即謂象以祭之意，于辭亦不順；若謂即作器者之國名，所謂"以比其身，以重其國家"也，則無不涣然冰釋，自與彝器銘識之通則攷之，亦可斷言糞為古國之名，其字即糞之初形也。

附 錄 一

釋 𤕌

周易卦爻辭言疾者疾凡十：其在復卦曰"出入无疾，往來无咎"，鼎之九二曰"我仇有疾，不能我即，吉"，疾之為言咎也、惡也。明夷之九三曰"明夷于南狩，得其大首，不可疾貞"，疾之為言患也、速也。豫六五"貞疾，恆不死"，无妄九五"无妄之疾，勿藥有喜"，遯九三"係遯，有疾，厲"，損六四"損其疾，使遄有喜"，豐六二"往得疑疾"，兑九四"介疾有喜"，疾皆當依說文訓曰"病也"。人誰不病，病誰不懼死，今人之死生常問諸鬼神，古人之疾瘳與否，則卜諸蓍龜。周禮"大卜以邦事作龜之八命，八曰瘳"，凡此疾病諸辭，殆亦殷周間卜瘳之類矣。卜瘳之辭，亦常見于甲骨刻辭，但字作𤕌（戩壽堂文字卅四葉第五版），孫詒讓以為瘳字，云"𤕌從疒翏聲，翏從羽今，𤕌右之𠀀似從羽省，半而倒之"（契文舉例上）。王襄以為疥字，云"𤕌即介字，片即爿省"（簠室殷契類纂正編）。急就篇"疝瘕疥癘癡聾盲"，顏注云"疥，小蟲攻齧

皮膚，濉錯如鱗介也。"疥乃皮膚之疾，非齒也，而卜辭數言"疒齒"曰：

"貞疒齒不隹𡆥"（藏龜百九十葉），

"貞疒齒𢦔于且乙"（殷契一，第廿五葉。），

"甲子卜𣪘貞王疒齒隻𡆥𢏚"（殷契四，第四十四葉。），

"壬戌卜亘貞之疒齒隹之𡿨"（徵文游田三十版。），

謂齒生疥瘡則不可通。孫君釋疒為倒𤕫形，形亦甚遠。山謂疒齒猶言齒病，疒即周易常見之疾字也。許君言疾"從疒矢聲"而秦兩詔權量刻辭"丞相斯去疾"疾則從人作疒與疒所從之亻同也。又按祭卜辭作𠂤（殷契一，第四葉），殺卜辭作𢼸（後編下第六葉），青卜辭作𡩜（後編上，第廿葉）所從之⺀，皆象血液，則疒外之⺀，亦可謂象血液形。日本象大版亦象斧依。人體流血倚床寢息此疒之全形，亦疾之初義矣。釋疒為疾不特合于形義，驗諸所卜各辭，亦無不怡然順理。辭曰：

"已疒不死"（藏龜百六十八葉。死本作𣦵象人在棺槨之中，舊釋囚，非也。），

與豫之"貞疾恒不死"同一文法，同一意義，此一證也。又曰：

"貞子多鬼𩱣亡疒"（殷契四第卅二葉。），

"已未卜𢀛已𡰥亡疒"（後編下第廿九葉。），

"丁已貞已𣵀亡疒三月"（徵文人名八十九版。），

"貞王𡆥亡其疒"（徵文禨事六十二版。），

"癸未卜出貞已弗疒"（徵文游田三十版。），

"貞已其不之疒"（殷契四第卅二葉。），

"癸未卜貞𡆥弗疒之疒𡆥月"（殷契八第六葉。），

"亡疾"亡其疾"弗疾"弗疾之疾"其不之疾"皆與復之"出入无疾"同誼，此二證也。而殷虛書契曰（第十葉）有一版曰：

"癸酉卜貞𡆥其之疒？

貞𡆥亡疒"

前為命卜之辭，後為吉凶既判之語，合而讀之，尤非卜疾之事莫解，此疒為疾字之證三也。餘若：

"辛未卜𣪘貞之疒告𡆥"（藏龜百五十六葉），

"貞告疒于且丁"(殷契一第十二葉)。

"丙午卜貞福告𡆥疒于□丁𡆥"(徵文帝系二百十葉)。

是告疾之卜也。

"貞之疒隹之𡆥"(藏龜百五十三葉)。

"癸酉卜貞𡨦其之疒"(殷契六第三十八葉)。

"甲寅卜𡆥貞疒𣃔隹□𡆥"(戩壽堂文字卅四葉第四版)。

"戊申卜貞雀□月之疒"(北大藏龜第□葉)。

"壬子卜貞□克興之疒"(北大藏龜第□葉)。

"己酉卜賓之疒它出"(徵文游田卅八葉)。

"丁未𠂤之疒"(徵文游田三十版)。

是卜臣屬之疾也。藏龜有曰：

"卜貞𨒅𡆥疒旬之二日"(第五葉)，

則卜疾瘳之期矣。金縢言"武王有疾弗豫，二公曰我其為王穆卜，王翼日乃瘳"，然則卜疾之瘳否，乃古人之常事。焦循並以疾速誼訓易卦爻辭之疾字(易通釋卷八)，毫厘千里，其失也不亦遠乎？

附錄二

釋夢

周禮"太卜掌三夢之灋：一曰致夢，二曰觭夢，三曰咸陟"，又"占夢掌其歲時，觀天地之會，辨陰陽之氣，以日月星辰占六夢之吉凶：一曰正夢，二曰噩夢，三曰思夢，四曰寤夢，五曰喜夢，六曰懼夢"。釋文夢作㝱云"本又作夢"，孫詒讓正義曰"夢正字當作㝱，寤即寐之借，經凡寐字皆叚夢為之，占夢釋文載或本作寐，則用正字"。說文"㝱，寐而有覺也，從宀從疒，夢聲"，又曰"夢，不明也，從夕，瞢省聲。瞢，目不明也，从𥄕從旬。𥄕，目不正也，從𦫳從目"。蔑從𥄕從戍，而金文或從𦫳作蔑(免卣)，或從𥄕作蔑(師遽敦)，或從𦫳作蔑(鬼生敦)，卜辭或從𦫳作𦫳(殷契一第四十九葉)，或從𦫳作𦫳(殷契六第七葉)，或從𦫳作𦫳(殷契五第卅九葉)，以蔑之偏傍變化，測𢙡(殷契八第五葉)右之𦫳，可斷其為夢

之最初形，其左旁可斷其為疒之最初形。許書言"疒，倚也，人有疾病，象倚箸之形"。墨
[illegible]"臥疾以為說也"，倚箸而臥，神有所遇，[illegible]，其見有物，則寢從目從夢[illegible]聲，
[illegible]讀已著者，寢從[illegible]哉？夢從夢不明之證，[illegible]從女哉？竊疑夢為古今字，即
[illegible]之初形也。何以徵之？辭曰：

"庚辰卜貞多鬼夢不至禍"（後編下第三葉）。

"庚辰卜貞多鬼夢叀疾見"（徵文雜事六十五版）。

"卜貞多鬼夢叀言見"（同上）。

"貞多夢叀見"（同上）。

"貞亞多鬼夢亡疾"（殷契四第卅八葉）。

鬼夢猶言"多鬼夢"，是周禮所占之"懼夢"也。夢一作[illegible]，此夢之特變，然以卜辭文法比勘，不得謂[illegible]與夢是一字。夢之變化形亦不齊，有作[illegible]（藏龜百卅一葉）者，有作[illegible]（徵文人名第六版）[illegible]（徵文典禮第卅八版）者。其辭或曰：

"乙巳卜貞賓王夢[illegible]口佳口"（藏龜第二葉）。

"貞王夢[illegible]不佳禍"（殷契五第四葉）。

"庚子卜賓貞王夢[illegible]佳禍"（徵文人名第六版）。

此寢見事物而卜其吉凶者也。

"辛巳卜貞[illegible]"（殷契八第十三葉）。

"貞王夢[illegible]不佳[illegible]"（藏龜百十三葉）。

"辛未卜[illegible]貞王夢兄戊口以不佳禍"（藏龜百卅一葉）。

"辛亥[illegible]壬子王亦夢[illegible]之口口"（殷契七第卅三葉）。

"口口[illegible]辛[illegible]王夢[illegible]口口"（同上）。

此寢見人而卜其吉凶者也。辭若：

"丙寅卜[illegible]貞[illegible]之夢"（殷契六第七葉）。

"口口之夢口口[illegible]"（殷契六第卅二葉）。

"[illegible]午卜王口貞口夢"（藏龜卅六葉）。

"貞王夢之"（藏龜百十六葉）。

"[illegible]午卜口[illegible]王夢佳禍"（藏龜百四十七葉）。

"丁口口貞王𠂤不口"（藏龜百六十五葉）。
"貞王𠂤之口"（戩壽堂文字第卅四葉第七版）。
"貞𠂤考隹𠂤"（徵文雜事百零八版）。
"貞王𠂤氏其人嬻"（徵文人名第七版）。

則或事物不記徒卜釋之吉凶。至于：

"癸丑卜爭貞旬亡囚王固曰之求之𠂤父甲寅允之來媸"（後編下第五葉），
"王固曰求之𠂤父其來媸"（菁華第六葉），

𠂤父應作人名解。尚書序言"高宗夢得說，使百工營求諸野，得諸傅巖，作說命三篇"。今偽說命曰"王宅憂亮陰三祀，夢帝賚予良弼，其代予言"。殷本紀亦謂"武丁夜夢得聖人，名曰說，以夢所見視群臣百吏，皆非也。于是迺使百工營求之野，得說于傅險中，舉以為相，殷國大治"。𠂤父豈猶伊尹之稱保衡，師保之稱保父，亦傅說之尊稱歟？若然，則殷之名臣見于卜辭者，伊尹、咸戊而外，得說而三矣。

附錄三

釋𢀛

卜辭常見𢀛字，其辭曰：

"貞令口口从𢀛侯虎伐𢀛方受之又"（殷契四第四十四葉），
"𢀛貞令旃从𢀛侯寅𢀛"（殷契七第卅一葉），
"貞令𢀛侯歸"（徵文人名四十九及五十版），
"辛巳卜𢀛貞王由𢀛伐𢀛受𢀛"（戩壽堂文字十三葉第五版），
"貞令多𢀛𢀛"（藏龜百葉），

𢀛侯連文，當是殷時侯國之名。王國維疑"與毛公鼎𢀛字、號季子白盤博字、呂伯虎敦𢀛字同為一字，其字前人皆釋為庸，疑即邶鄘之鄘。商器中屢見北子（邶伯器）又有鄘侯，則邶鄘固殷之舊國矣"（戩壽堂殷虛文字考釋）。山按：邶鄘立國誠在殷世，然唐許君言"從用從庚"，與𢀛形絕遠，𢀛從用從凶，與𢀛形亦不倫，前人釋𢀛為庸非也，王君謂𢀛𢀛一字亦非也。𢀛卜辭作𢀛（殷契六第六十葉），下或從缸，若蒙盧之類，疑是為𢀛之

名，日象其柄，所謂"大版為業，業象樂縣"，亦象器縣也。其為何字？不敢臆斷。然冂象帷幕交覆，中施皇邸之形，則確然明白。周禮天官"幕人，掌帷幕幄帟綬之事，凡朝覲會同軍旅田役祭祀，共其帷幕幄帟綬"，鄭玄注"王出宮則有是事。在旁曰帷，在上曰幕，幕或在地展陳于上，皆以布為之，四合象宮室曰幄，王所居之帳也。"又"掌次，掌王次之法，以待張事。王大旅上帝，則張氈案，設皇邸"，鄭眾注"皇，羽覆上，邸，後版也"。鄭玄注"張氈案以氈為牀于幄中，後版屏風與"？古者天子有事于外，必設帷幄，帷幄之中，必施屏風。冂中之日正象後版屏風之形，其外之冂，正象帷幕在地施展于上之形，當即冡之初字。許君說"冡，覆也，從冂豕"，冡字無義可說。豕古文作豕，卜辭一作下（殷契三第二葉），豕（殷契八第一葉），家從豕，卜辭一從牙作俞（殷契一第卅葉），牙之與日相去幾何？竊疑冡本作冃或省其下為冃，後世一誤為冡，再誤為冢，于是後版屏風之意失矣。冡幪古今古字。法言吾子"震風凌雨，然後知夏屋之為帡幪也"，注云"帡幪，蓋覆也"。蓋覆者，幪誼之引申；帡幪者冂形之初誼，許君以覆訓冡，得其最初引申誼，究非冡之本訓也。冡孳乳為蒙，方言、小爾雅、廣詁俱云"蒙，覆也"。論語季氏"夫顓臾，昔者先王以為東蒙主"，魯頌閟宮"奄有龜蒙，遂荒大東"，毛傳及孔注皆曰"蒙山"，漢書地理志謂"在泰山蒙陰縣西南。"蒙陰因蒙山為名，其地又遠在泰山之旁，與卜辭所稱"冡今夕雨"不合，當非冡侯之故都。冡侯故都疑即汳水南大蒙城。括地志"宋州北五十里大蒙城，即景亳，湯所盟地，因景山以為名"。景亳，酈道元水經注疑即"蒙亳"，皇甫謐亦曰"蒙為北亳"，北亳即地理志之山陽郡薄縣，臣瓚注云"薄，湯所都"，闞駰十三州志云"景亳，湯都也"，亦謂"薄城北郭東三里平地有湯冢"，則漢之薄縣，確湯之故居。史記殷本紀"帝盤庚之時，殷已都河北，盤庚渡河南，復居湯之故居"，其在紀年則謂"盤庚自奄遷于北蒙曰殷"，項羽本紀索隱引汲郡古文亦曰"盤庚自奄遷于北冡"，北蒙北亳豈一地乎？按莊十二年左傳"宋萬弒閔公于蒙澤，公子御說奔亳"，杜注云"蒙澤宋地，梁國有蒙縣，蒙縣西北有亳城"，十三州志以薄城為貫城，亦云"在蒙縣西北"，則蒙自為蒙，亳自為亳，北蒙之北，實以別于東蒙，蒙亳之稱，亦以其境地毗連輥而為一矣。蒙本近亳，而亳則王城，故得卜其雨否？辭又言"以冡侯寇伐𢦏方"，𢦏方，葉玉森疑與𢦏為一國，𢦏從畄從人，或古雲夢之夢"（殷契鉤沈）。愚按葉釋是也。𢦏方即曹之鄸邑。春秋昭二十年"曹公孫會自鄸出奔宋"，杜注"鄸，曹邑"，寰宇記"濟陰乘氏縣西北有大鄸城，曹之鄸邑也。"山東通志亦曰"鄸城在曹州府荷澤縣西北三

里。" 曹之南鄙，即宋之北鄙，鄴在陶丘之東，而蒙在商丘之北，自鄴至蒙，不過二百里；以蒙伐鄴，亦不過兼日之程。公孫會自鄴奔宋易，而商自商丘伐鄴，則必道出于蒙；以蒙侯伐鄴之事攷之，知蒙必在汳水南之大蒙城矣。蒙去商丘僅五十里，是在天子縣內。王制"天子縣內，方百里之國九，七十里之國二十有一，五十里之國六十有三，"又曰"公侯田方百里，天子三公之田視公侯，"蒙君稱侯，豈商初之公卿乎？抑河亶甲遷相後新建諸侯乎？此雖非所知，然梁國鄗蒙縣，即蒙侯故都，蒙即汳郎古文所稱北蒙也則無疑。

十八年十月卅日初成于北海。

山作此文畢，見鄭業敩君獨笑齋金石文考亦謂𠦪即非字，足證余說之未誤。惟鄭君猶宥于"析子孫"成說，訓非為分，則不免乎拘墟矣。鄭說詳中國學報第二期。

丁山校記于北海靜心齋，12. 8.

正　　誤

葉數	行數	誤	正
233	10	旅	族
234	19	右𠬝	右之𠬝
236	21	實同	同實
237	19	膝	滕
238	13	亦非	非
241	19	卿士寮	卿事寮
243	19	言疾者疾九	言疾者九
243	21	五妄	旡妄
247	27	卜辭[illegible]	卜辭亦作[illegible]

明季桐城中江社考

朱　倓

明季結社，其數盈百，而勢力之偉大，無如復社；而與復社隱然相抗與之敵對者，其惟中江社。

中江社之首領，爲桐城阮大鋮，明季社黨之爭，都置國事於不顧，內憂外患，熟視無覩，大鋮始與東林黨爲難，而北都以亡，終與復社爲難，而南都以亡，中江社之設，殆與東林黨暗爭以後，又與小東林黨之復社暗爭者也。此社記載寥寥，殆以阮大鋮爲明季奸臣，清初貳臣，入其社者，人皆諱之。惟桐城錢秉鐙初入其社，其後以方以智之勸戒，始脫離其社，秉鐙少子撝祿撰先公田間府君年譜云：

壬申（崇禎五年），二十一歲，是年，邑人舉中江大社，六皖知名士皆在，府君與三伯與焉，首事潘次魯方聖羽也。次魯爲閹黨汝楨子，聖羽則皖髯門人，皖髯陰爲之主，以薦達名流餌諸士，由是一社皆在其門，皖髯與余家世戚，門內人素不以爲嫌，府君鄉居，不習朝事，漫從之入社。（國粹學報第七十五期據桐城蕭穆抄校本）

案皖髯即阮大鋮，錢秉鐙藏山閣文存有皖髯事實一篇，首云：「皖人阮大鋮」，末云：「並爲髯絕篇一首，大鋮髯而無嗣，故以髯絕名篇。」撝祿所撰年譜，稱大鋮爲皖髯，本此。

欲明阮大鋮主持中江社之陰謀，非先明大鋮之歷史不可，大鋮之歷史，可分爲三時期：一爲崇禎以前與東林暗爭時期；二爲崇禎時列名逆案結中江等社以與復社暗爭時期；三爲弘光時誅鋤復社及降清時期。茲分爲三篇，每篇卽以大鋮事蹟穿插其中，藉以明中江社之緣起與組織及其結果焉。

上篇

中江社之成立，在崇禎五年，上距復社之成立僅三年，（崇禎二年，復社有國表初集，列名七百餘人，見復社紀事，其後增至數千人，見復社姓氏錄。）距魏忠賢矯旨頒示東林黨人榜僅七年，（天啓五年十二月乙亥朔，頒示東林黨人榜三百零九人，榜見酌中志餘。）又距欽定逆案大鋮列名案中亦僅三年。復社中多東林黨人之子弟，忌者多以小東林目之，大鋮本亦爲東林黨人，後與東林黨相仇，列名逆案，故見復社之盛，心頗畏忌，乃別立中江社，網羅六皖名士，以爲己羽翼，一以標榜聲名，思爲復職之地，一以樹立黨援，冀爲政爭之具，中江社成立之原因，蓋不出乎此。

阮大鋮之與東林黨爲讐敵，並遷怒於其子孫，非明其初期之歷史，必有不甚憭然者。茲將錢秉鐙皖髯事實，錄其事之在崇禎二年以前者如左，並以溫睿臨南疆逸史阮大鋮傳及他書補其缺：

皖人阮大鋮，少有才譽，萬曆丙辰通籍，授行人，考選給事中，淸流自命，同鄉左公光斗在臺中有重望，引爲同心，其人器量褊淺，幾微得失，見於顏面，急權勢，善矜伐，悻悻然小丈夫也。天啟四年冬，將行考察，會吏掌科缺，以次應補者，江西劉弘化在籍有丁憂信，後資無踰大鋮，大鋮亦方假回，左時已轉僉院，急招入京，大鋮旣至，而當事諸公意屬魏大中，以察典重大，大鋮淺躁，語易泄，不足與共事也，左意遂中變，語大鋮曰，「某公艱信已確，但撫按疏久未至，奈何！現有工科缺出，且宜暫補，俟其疏至，再行改題可乎？」大鋮業心知其故，謬曰「可」，於是具疏題補工科都給事中，凡再題而命不下，諸公怪之，而外議喧傳吏科缺出已久，不得已乃更以吏科請，疏朝上而命夕下，蓋大鋮於此時始走捷徑，叛東林也。大鋮到任未數日，卽請終養歸，以缺讓魏公大中，與楊左諸公同掌察典，歸語所親曰，「我便善歸，看左某如何歸耳，」楊左禍機伏於此時矣。次年春，難作，毒遍海內，（南疆逸史阮大鋮傳云：「未幾，汪文言獄起，逮殺漣光斗六人，又明年，逮攀龍等七人。」）大鋮方居里，雖對客不言，而眉間栩栩有伯仁由我之意，其實非大鋮所能爲也。大鋮與同志相呼應者，馮銓霍維華楊維垣等數人耳，而宂以通閹者，倪文煥也。（明史馬士英傳云：「大鋮自是附魏忠賢，與霍維華楊維垣倪文煥爲死友，造百官圖，因文煥達諸忠賢。」）丙寅冬，召起太常寺少卿，數月卽回，心知魏閹不可久恃，凡有書幣往候，隨卽

購其名刺出，故籍閹時無片字可據，但加以「陰行贊導」而已。先帝即位之初，舉朝皆閹餘黨，東林虛無人，於是楊維垣乘虛倡議，以東林崔魏並提而論，蓋兩非之；不意倪公元璐於詞林中毅然抗疏，極詆其謬，分別邪正，引繩批根，維垣爲之理屈詞窮。而大鋮在籍，既聞閹敗，急作二疏，遣覓入京，其一疏特參崔魏，一疏爲七年合算，以熹宗在位凡七年，四年以後亂政者魏忠賢，而爲之羽翼者，崔呈秀輩也；四年以前亂政者則爲王安，而羽翼安者，東林也，論設特示維垣，若局面全翻，則上前疏，脫猶未定，即上合算之疏。是時維垣方與倪公相持，得大鋮疏，大喜，即上之，從此東林諸公切齒大鋮，倍於諸閹黨矣。崇禎元年，奉優旨起陞光祿卿，旋被劾罷回，已爲魏公大中子學濂血疏糾：「大鋮實殺其父，」用是削籍配贖，列名欽定逆案，十七年不能吐氣矣。

案明史馬士英傳及南疆逸史阮大鋮傳，記大鋮第一期事蹟，皆本啟禎事實，而不及其詳；惟逸史言「大鋮字圓海桐城人，」而明史馬士英傳則云：「萬曆四十四年，與懷寧阮大鋮同中會試，」民國四年懷寧縣志選舉表云：「萬曆丙辰進士阮大鋮，桐城阮鶚之曾孫，鶚爲嘉靖甲辰進士，官至巡撫，見明史，大鋮爲桐城人，太學題名碑可考，明史誤以大鋮爲懷寧人，附識於此以正之。」尋懷寧縣志文苑傳「大鋮先祖阮自華，始遷懷寧，與吳應鍾劉鍾嶽等結海門社，」乾隆江南通志文苑傳「阮自華懷寧籍桐城人，」則大鋮當爲桐城人無疑。

朱彝尊云「大鋮名在點將錄，號沒遮攔，而閩人周之夔，亦注名復社第一集；阮露刃以殺東林，周反戈以攻復社。」（見靜志居詩話）案兩中志涂所藏東林點將錄，沒遮攔爲禮科給事中劉宏化，錄中亦別無阮大鋮之名，殆爲後人所竄易，朱氏所見，必係初本。中江社之首事潘次魯方聖羽，初亦列名復社。（見復社紀事及復社姓氏錄）潘次魯名映婁，方聖羽名啓曾，復社國表第一集即列其名。大鋮倒潘方二氏以爲中江社首領，殆亦使效己智，而爲反戈之意乎？

中篇

南疆逸史阮大鋮傳云：「大鋮起爲光祿卿，御史毛羽健即劾之，以其頌美贊導，列名逆案之四等，論贖徒爲民，終莊烈帝世廢斥，鬱鬱不得志，然未嘗一日忘仕宦

也，賂遺朝貴，求所以湔刷者，終無其術，帝明訾，人有以逆案荐者，輒得罪，大鋮無可奈何。」當是時，大鋮發憤為詩，抒其才藻，以博人之稱譽，今南京盋山精舍所刻詠懷堂詩十卷，大都皆為其罷官里居時所作。葉燦序稱其「一與時忤，便留神著述；家世簪纓，多藏書，偏發讀之，又性敏捷，日數行下，一過不忘，無論經史子集，神仙佛道，諸鴻章鉅簡；即與稗官誌，方言小說，詞曲傳奇，無不含菁而擷拾之。聰明之所溢發，筆墨之所點染，無不各極其妙，學士家傳戶誦；而全副精力，尤注射於五七字之間，其詩有莊麗者，有澹雅者，有曠逸者，有香艷者，至其窮微極渺，靈心慧舌，或古人所已到，或古人所未有，忽然出之，手與筆化，即公亦不知其所以至而至焉。」葉之稱譽，其過情與否，余未敢言；要其所謂學士家傳戶誦，必非虛譽，觀大鋮之結中江社，六皖知名士皆在，則其詩文之能傾動一時可知。其時復社之聲譽已隆，大鋮能使名列復社之潘映婁方啟曾來入其社，雖云以爲達名流為餌，要亦其文藝足以服人有以致之；即錢秉鐙（錢撝祿田間年譜所稱為三伯者）秉鐙兄弟，亦名重江左，亦傾倒其才而入其社，他可知也。茲將潘方二錢事蹟，考之如左；

(一)潘映婁

康熙安慶府志云：「潘映婁字次魯，明少司馬汝楨仲子也，美丰姿，饒機略，隨父歷官，行止多取決焉。比入成均，才名藉甚，授台州推官，著聲明允。入國朝，以投誠有功，擢杭州驛法道，旋詿誤，下吏議，復白之，陞福寧道，政務寬慈，士民猶有頌聲。」

桐城徐璈桐舊集云：「潘映婁號復齋，崇禎丙子（九年），己卯（十二年）副榜。」

案潘映婁當時亦有才名，桐舊集載其酬何司空太灝詩云：

大雅將誰託，斯文寔在茲。曹南多夙夢，水部最能詩。月俸存官米，風塵倖放葵。琅玡若贈我，慚不識潘尼。

案阮大鋮詠懷堂詩為潘次魯而作者有七篇，（黃鵠篇為潘次魯南征賦，卷二 鳩茲迎潘次魯不至，卷二之十 山中五日懷次魯客江上，卷二之十七 招潘次魯等飲微園，卷二之二十四 山夜有懷潘次魯居廬，卷三之三 冬日同潘次魯等坐天界總蕊居，卷三之七 酬次魯十錦圖，卷三之十四）茲擇其更關切者，錄四篇如左：

鳩嶺遲潘次魯不至，

山雲靜吐輝，流英照中野。持情復何向，偃臥秋扉下。稷除不耕繁，可以贍譚斝。開遲款親益，漁樵亦來社。獨有同心人，煙霜格車馬。鳴雀定不喧，菊香澹盈把。使我對寒月，孤琴爲君寫。

山中五日懷次魯客江上，

與子靜相見，閒雲及芳草。兼此松際月，時向潭中杲。想子江上心，應懷薇蕨好。楚些激靈波，離思更難稿。雨止山青開，泉聲喧一道。細認念君來，藤花落夜掃。蘭芳彌話言，靈蹤從何討。

山夜有懷潘次魯居廬，錄第二首，

世事寧胥謂，其如高枕何？儘容恬寂寂，無可寄悲歌。山靜烟雲秀，林深鳥雀和。秋籬能就菊，爲爾撤門羅。

酌次魯十賚閣，

草閣晴香裏，花繁君適來。有懷何契闊，於此且徘徊。簷柳青難忍，江峯碧盡開。好將寒靜意，閱世向深杯。

(二)方啟曾

桐舊集云：「方啟曾字聖羽，號僑伴，順治間貢生，官江陰訓導，有振雅堂集。」

康熙安慶府志耆壽表：「方啓曾，壽九十歲，江都訓導。」

象方啓曾亦工詩，阮大鋮詠懷堂詩爲方聖羽而作者，有十四篇。（九日齋後同方聖羽等集李太常通侯松筠閣，卷二之四 同聖羽等集閑鷗詠，卷二之十二 讀陶詩偶舉大意似聖羽等，卷二之十三 送方聖羽等失解歸皖，卷三之六 春望陵臺有懷聖羽廬居，卷三之十二 春陰同聖羽等集園中，卷三之十四 五日喜聖羽等至山，卷三之十五 仲春七日同方聖羽等集劉慈玉宅，卷四之二 江上送聖羽來唁感賦，丙子詩上之十七 靈谷月下聖羽至，戊寅詩下之一 聖羽避亂至山齋談樅川被賊之狀，戊寅詩下之二十七 方聖羽四十初度，外集乙部之十一 秋雨同方聖羽夜酌兼閱其舍山館中近撰，外集乙部十四 同方聖羽等集城西樓，辛巳詩上之二）茲擇其尤關切者，錄三首如左：

靈谷月下聖羽至，

出月滿庭樹，樹靜山更涼。良友坐此間，幽意殊相當。澹然共茗粥，清論淨

蘭香。起或步松徑，倦即休竹房。世人如蓼蟲，習苦不自傷。漫游西翁向，降夢倚羲皇。非君秉素心，定復嗤予狂。

秋雨同方聖羽夜酌，兼聞其令山館中近撰，

秋雨鬱醅中，朋來更此晨。永言道古處，遺跡長塵佰。載酒蘿陰厚，開香橘柚新。滄浪寄何在，不敢說垂綸。

鼓樂憶君來，由泉發幾叢。高文含曙色，清思愜松風。偶影秋燈下，深談夜雨中。閒琴雖諒吹，於此意無窮。

(三)錢秉鐔

桐舊集云：「錢秉鐔字幼安，崇禎間諸生，注引潘蜀藻曰：『先生少與弟飲光齊名，貢成均時，值國變，遂棄去，以黔貧志以歿，』又引省志云：『秉鐔兄弟五人，與季弟秉鐙名重江左，有二錢之稱，及秉鐙遭黨禍，秉鐔撫循門內終身。』」

錢撝祿田間年譜：「萬曆丙辰年，三伯父幼安。」箋注云，「幼安名秉鐔，少與先生齊名，補歲貢，值世變棄去，族人有譏其年强不仕爲不孝者，賦詩謝之，有倖中死猶羞文，諸葛匡吳亦負兄之句。」

案秉鐔有送別家兄含弟之震澤詩，蓋在易世後之作，其詩云：

逢人何必問滄桑，話國傷心越水長。客路夢隨今夜月，官橋踪向來霜。老年兄弟輕離別，亂日詩文不易狂。早晚柴門人獨望，迴思嶺外渡千行。

據此詩及阮大鋮錢爾卓先生偕令嗣幼安幼光飲集闈詩，（詠懷堂集卷二之三）則秉鐔即撝祿田間年譜所稱三伯者是也；蓋爾卓先生五子，三與五最有名，故爲阮氏所羅致歟！

(四)錢秉鐙

桐舊集云：「錢秉鐙字幼光，號田間，更名澄之，字飲光，崇禎時諸生，有藏山閣稿，飲光詩文集。」

案錢秉鐙事蹟，諸家記載，皆詳於清而略於明，而於南明事行不載一字：如方苞所撰墓表，阮元國史儒林傳，鄧方城桐舊詩人小傳，唐鑑學案小識，錢林文獻徵存錄，皆不足以窺其全，馬其昶桐城耆舊傳雖略載南明事，然亦語焉不詳。蓋秉鐙始與阮大鋮同社，後與復社幾社人相結，且與陳子龍夏允彝等結雲龍社，阮氏與之爲仇，故弘光朝秉鐙不得志，而幾罹黨禍。隆武時，以黃道周之薦，授吉安府推官，尋改延平府。

永曆時，擢禮部主事，後特試，始入翰林爲史官，著有所知錄。南明亡，始歸鄉里，終身不仕，方苞所謂「杜足田間，治經課耕」是也。年八十二終，著有田間易學十二卷，田間詩學十二卷，莊屈合詁八卷，及田間詩文集五十八卷，行世。民國十六年冬，家大人購得舊鈔本藏山閣詩集十四卷，文集六卷，其詩起於崇禎十一年，訖於永曆五年（清順治八年），文起於崇禎十二年，迄於永曆四五年，其中雜文，皆記南明時事，皖髯事實即其一也，此書淸代在禁燬之列，故尠流傳，光緒中，桐城蕭穆得一抄本，排印行世，近亦稀見。秉鐙生平事蹟，以其子撝祿所撰田間年譜爲最詳，亦爲蕭穆抄校本，載在國粹學報七十五期，至七十九期，人所易見，故其事不詳列於篇。

錢撝祿田間年譜云：「皖髯與余家世戚。」又云：「辛未（崇禎四年）府君至皖，見阮霧靈翁，（蕭穆注云：「阮名靈翁名自華，字堅之，號浩宇又號霧靈山人，萬曆戊辰進士，著有霧靈集。」）而阮大鋮詠懷堂詩有壽爾卓先生六十詩一首，外集甲部之十三（田間年譜云，「萬歷四十年，府君生，祖父年四十六，」蕭穆注云：「先生父諱志立，字爾卓，號鏡水，萬歷間諸生，著有輔仁遺編薇巖邇噎鷇巢春音集，白門佰音集」）又有錢爾卓先生偕令嗣幼安幼光飲集園詩云：

悠悠時序，旣露以霜。森標朝竦，素烟夕翔。離憂中來，云胡不長。琴瑟在御，寫此幽獨。闢其谷音，沛我弗遠。薄陳莞簟，以話疇夙。寒山靜好，高樹鷄鳴。嘉魚旨酒，欵我平生。豈無他士，古處維朋，臨觴不樂，日月彌妥。停雲崇阿，播芳南澗。龍蟄匪存，鳳衰何諫。𩿨𪈤羽翮，相從放遊。攀葭懸圃，摘月松舟。任運之之，盍合盍求。

案此詩蓋在初結中江社所賦，其時正與錢氏父子昆弟相善也。其後秉鐙以方以智之勸戒，漸與離異，玆將田間年譜中關於此事者，錄之如左：

壬申（崇禎五年），方密之（名以智）與遊回，與府君言曰：「吳下事與朝局表裏，先辨氣類，凡閹黨皆在所擯，吾輩奈何奉爲盟主？曷早自異諸！」因私結數子課文；其中江社期，謝不至，諸公旣知有異心矣。其冬，府棨試，生童俱集，大鋮治酒，大會社友，獨不招君，（當作府君）旣試畢，府君往謁其封君杜葢翁，翁語曰；「子爲誰薦？」府君曰：「未有。」翁曰：「小兒云方仁植（蕭穆注云即方孔炤，）已薦子矣！」府君曰：「不知。」揖而出，仁植者，密之父

也，已發案，府君第一，大鋮居為己功。

癸酉（崇禎六年），劉用潛為婺源令，祖父受業門人也，遣迎祖父到任，過皖，大鋮急語之曰：「今年婺源令必入闈，諸昆仲必應中一人，以報師恩，宜儘尺頭長者，且才美不愧。」蓋指寄君也。因密傳用關節法。祖父辭曰：「此子年幼，正宜用功，吾生不作僥倖一事，寧敢以誤此子，並累使君也。」其秋，用潛又迎，且曰：「某將入闈，署中須師照管。」祖父力辭不去。已劉公果入闈，府君兄弟皆不中，人爭惜之；祖父獨喜曰：「幸甚，不窺發中，即使徑中，不由關節，亦終為某口實，得箝制之矣。」

乙亥（崇禎八年），過婁東謁張西銘先生。（名溥，復社首領，秉鐙入復社，蓋在此時。）

丙子（崇禎九年，）讀書龍眠山中，左僉人（名國柱）為主，子直（名國棟）子忠（名國林）子厚（名國材，四左皆光斗子，）共事。大鋮聞之，謂祖父曰：「聞公家有人與左氏共筆硯，必非公子也，左氏固吾世仇，吾兩家世戚，寧有此乎！」祖父曰：「有之，即吾少子也，彼少年，寧知前事，意氣相孚，自為投契，吾輩亦焉能禁之！」大鋮從此銜恨於府君矣。

戊寅（崇禎十一年），會方仁植以中丞撫楚，密之自楚回，邀府君至白門共事，善府君文，欲捐資授梓。聞里中賊警，遽歸，復移家避鄉戀鄉，度歲。密之往楚，留都出防亂公揭以逐大鋮，大鋮謂密之主謀，而府君適與同事，恨益甚。（案留都防亂公揭錢秉鐙未列名。）

庚辰（崇禎十三年），正月，入城，留龍眠山中，與三左（三左，即子直子忠子厚也。）共事，祖父病，（卒）阮大鋮遣祭，其文專以詆府君，府君亦同諸位往謝，三左亦承密之旨，刻桐山從業以別氣類，吾邑社事之判，自此始。

壬子，（崇禎十五年），何文端公沒，（名如寵）復社公祭，屬府君為文，其中畧序朝局，以及閹黨至今為害等語，何氏懸堂之正中，大鋮陪弔客，於此堂更衣，客必覽此數語，大鋮知為府君筆，益恨。

甲申（崇禎十七年），大鋮出山，大興同文之獄，而府君竟掛名於宗室朱統䤵之章，以擁戴疎藩謀危社稷為罪，緹騎四出，家人無處可匿，仲伯乃送之東

來，府君變姓名，逃吳市。

綜觀上列數則，知中江社之方以智以故，名流漸多脫離，惜乎此社始末，未能詳知，所謂六皖知名士，究不知有幾，余讀書少，不能詳考，僅此四人，或與阮相終始，或與阮相反戾，可以知其大畧。而大鋮在此期之歷史，亦惟棗鐙知之最詳，故仍以皖髯事實之在崇禎時代者，摘錄如左：

大鋮雖里居，凡巡方使者出都，必有爲之先容，到皖，即式其廬，地方利弊，或相諮訪，大鋮隨以誇張於衆，門庭氣燄，依然薰灼。最後有溫御史應奇者，江西寧都人，出都時，語大鋮所知，極陳向往之私。大鋮聞之，逢人輒述新直指語，迨直指蒞皖，視事畢，嘗謁客，大鋮灑掃門巷，勑庖廚音樂以候，謂出必先過我，即留飲也；而直指往返再經其門，竟不投一刺，乃大恨，無以對僕御及里人矣。（案詠懷堂詩外集有溫直指澄虛不見枉以書代訊賦答二首，則溫御史不見大鋮信矣；然雖不投刺，而以書代訊，且又有巖居答溫直指再訊一首，亦見外集，則其懷恨當不如錢氏所說之甚也。）已御史被論降調，大鋮即以下石自居，實不然也。會流寇逼皖，大鋮避居白門，既素好延攬，見四方多事，益談兵，招納游俠，希以邊才起用，惟時白門流寓諸生，多復社知名士，聞而惡之，公出留都防亂揭以逐大鋮，大鋮懼，乃閉戶謝客，客亦無造其門者。貴州馬士英固與同譜，謫戍，寓白門，同時失志，兩人者終日往還，互相慰勞耳。宜興相公周延儒，爲髫年暱友，既回籍，大鋮過其家，延儒與約曰，倘得再出，必起君。崇禎十四年，延儒再召，大鋮遣使往候，以金杯爲壽，曰「息壤在彼。」延儒召其使前，舉杯釂者三，仍令持歸，語使曰，「飲此，如與爾主面談矣，舊約不忘，但今茲之出，實由東林先與我約法三章，第一義即爾主也，歸語爾主，倘意中有所爲一人交者，當用爲督撫，俟其以邊才博薦，我相機圖之，必有以報耳。」使歸，大鋮以爲無如馬士英者，遂以士英請。延儒入，即拔士英爲鳳督。甲申國變，士英擅擁戴擘安之功，實由大鋮致之也。

案流寇逼皖，大鋮避居白門（南京），蓋在崇禎十年丁丑，錢撝祿田間年譜云：「丁丑春，賊大至，合家渡江，避烏落洲，五月，復至，再往。」大鋮當亦在此時避居南京。其時復在南京集羣社，（詠懷堂詩有羣社初集，共用羣字一首，外集甲部之一 亦爲

飛一首，序云：「羣社期於追古，故各擬古一章，余拈適得朱鷺，因憶鐃歌之義，俞徵君安期辨考之殊詳而愜，易朱鷺以赤烏飛者誠是也，余曾載之詩印，故賦赤烏飛以首簡。」卷二之三至於羣社人數及名氏，更不可考矣。）錢秉鐙所謂素好延攬，故復社之人，聞而惡之，崇禎十一年，遂由留都防亂公揭以逐之，蓋其時中江社之人，業已避亂分散，其在南京者，亦必仍入羣社，自防亂揭出，大鋮懼而謝客，客亦無造其門者，惟馬士英失志，終日往還，互相慰勞，遂造成弘光朝之政局，而與復社遂不共戴天矣。

中江社有明文可考者，僅阮大鋮及上列四人，所謂六皖知名士及六皖以外之人，必尚多，詠懷堂戊寅詩卷下，爲同社豹叔錢文薦校，詩中稱豹叔者亦多，其爲中江社，抑爲羣社，不可知矣。阮之門人入社者，方啟曾外，必亦有之，如詠懷堂辛巳詩爲門人齊惟藩价人錢二若次倩校；辛巳詩，序爲夏口門人張福乾撰；其時南海鄺露亦爲其門人，詠懷堂詩首四卷，爲其所校，且有序，而大鋮亦有鄺公露從嶺南相訪感賦一首，詠懷堂詩卷二之十七中有句云：「樂是際隅謠，避此螻蛄地。萬里就廬中，吟觴藉相娛。」則鄺露殆亦爲中江社中人乎？

下篇

中江社旣以阮大鋮爲主，故本文亦以阮大鋮爲主，大鋮之事跡，在崇禎以前及崇禎時代，旣在上中二篇分述之矣。其在弘光時代，當於本篇述之，仍以錢秉鐙所撰皖髯事實之關於弘光朝及其降淸事，錄於左，而以南疆逸史阮大鋮傳及他書補其缺：

皖髯事實云：「聖安以福王踐位，從前東林所爭者，具有成案，固大鋮可以借此發難報復之秋矣，又守備太監韓贊周，素與交好，京師陷，諸閹南奔，大鋮一一招致之，深相結納，與言東林當日所以危福王狀，諸閹入內，皆悉陳於上前，又極稱大鋮才，聖安意中，固早有阮大鋮矣。士英特疏薦起，以報舊德，亦所不容已者，而諸公攻之已甚，遂使併力同仇，乃大鋮竟由中旨起用，此又出於士英意外也。當時若早有知變計者，與士英謀，出山之時，予之節鉞，以遂其飛揚馳騁之思，則十七年鬱結之憤，可以少抒；及業已在樞，而給事熊霖乃言「宜置之有用之地，」固已遲矣！攻之愈急，則其機愈深，鬱之愈久，則其發愈毒，

譬如囚猛虎於阱中，環而攻擊之者，不遺餘力，一旦跳躍而出，有不遭其搏噬者幾人哉！』

南疆逸史阮大鋮傳云：『周延儒再召，大鋮輦金要之維揚，頓首泣涕曰，「大鋮已以身自託於公，公奈何熟視大鋮之困阨而不一援手？」延儒曰：「噫！難也。」久之，曰：「知交中誰與子最密者？」大鋮以士英對，延儒曰：「然則吾起士英，令士英轉荐子，庶有濟。」延儒入閣，即起士英總督鳳陽，（董含三岡識略云：「周延儒之初相也，蹈案諸人，皆厚賂之，欲令轉移上意，阮大鋮亦饋二萬金，延儒畏士英鬮，不敢發，性貪鄙，又不能還金，諸人惆悵而已，獨大鋮怒詈之。大鋮既負逆名，衆皆不齒，馬士英謫官居金陵，好聲色，與大鋮爲狹斜交，相得甚驩，士大夫因並薄士英，二人之交愈固。延儒再相，大鋮候之京口，曰：「公起，天下拭目望太平矣，某願爲太平之民，一身功名，非所冀也。」延儒始釋其責報，聞之甚喜，然計大鋮之爲人，終不可負，欲有以取償，曰：「公知人才誰可用者？願得致力，」大鋮舉士英，遂從起廢撫鳳督。及弘光立，士英相，大鋮用，而國由以亡！嗟乎！以三百年之宗社，東南千萬里之江山，一旦舉而捐之，捐之者，僅此二萬金也！）大鋮又與守備太監韓贊周甚暱，京師亂，中貴人南奔者，大鋮因贊周遍給之，大鋮既陰與士英謀立福王，而恐王不知也，則令宮闈交譽大鋮才，以其所演詞曲諸劇進宮中，（家大人曰：「焦循劇說言，阮大鋮所著傳奇共八種，雙金傍，牟尼合，春燈謎，燕子箋，忠孝環，桃花笑，井中盟，獅子賺。王士禎帶經堂集秦淮雜詩云；新歌細字寫冰紈，小部君王帶笑看。千載秦淮嗚咽水，不應仍恨孔都官。自注，弘光時，阮司馬以吳綾作朱絲闌，書燕子箋諸劇，進宮中。」）上固喜優樂，已心識大鋮名，而士英方柄國，乃以邊才荐，且言諸臣定策之謀，大鋮與焉；其附璫也，亦無實跡。遂命大鋮冠帶陛見。大鋮上守江策，陳三要兩合十四隙疏，並自白孤忠被陷，皆由東林。於是舉朝大譁，大學士姜曰廣高弘圖持其章乞下九卿科道集議，侍郎呂大器太僕少卿萬元吉府丞郭維經大理丞詹兆恆給事中羅萬象陳子龍御史陳良弼王孫蕃米壽圖周元泰左光先郎中尹民興懷遠侯常延齡等，並言先帝欽定逆案，不可擅改，大鋮逆案巨魁，必不可召。士英爲大鋮奏辨，而歷詆曰廣等。居月餘，竟以中旨，起

大鋮兵部，添註右侍郎。左都御史劉宗周言「魏璫之毒，大鋮其主使也，即才果足用，臣慮黨邪害正之才，終病世道，大鋮進退，實係江左興亡，乞寢成命，」不聽。尋命巡閱江防，明年二月，進本部尚書。大鋮旣得志，書務報復，盡召逆案楊維垣虞廷陛郭如闇周昌晉虞大復徐復陽陳以瑞吳孔嘉布列要路，爲之羽翼，而以所善張孫振袁宏勳劉光斗等置言路，爲爪牙，橫制朝政；乃斥曰黷宗周以下諸正人，劾周鑣雷縯祚殺之，（明史馬士英傳云：「初，舉朝以逆案攻大鋮，大鋮憾甚，及見北都從逆諸臣有附會清流者，因倡言曰；「彼攻逆案，吾作順案與之對，」以李自成僞國號曰順也，乃劾周鑣雷縯祚殺之。」案南疆逸史周鑣傳謂：「士英亦自劾周鍾之從逆，牽連及鑣，」鍾爲鑣從弟，有聲復社。）朝端側目，惟所欲爲矣。會有狂僧大悲，妄稱王，捕得下詔獄，大鋮與孫振謀曰：「假此誅清流，一網可盡也，」令大悲稱引史可法等數十人，指以將擁戴潞王，書諸臣姓名內大悲袖中，至讞時而出之，因造十八羅漢五十三參之目，海內人望，無不備列，錢謙益先已入其黨，上疏頌士英功德，且爲大鋮訟冤修好矣，大鋮憾不釋，亦列焉。獄詞詭秘，朝士皆自危，而上不欲興大獄，士英亦難之，乃第誅大悲而止。大鋮雖以知兵著，顧問以軍事，茫如也，一切邊警，悉寢不奏，而時時撓六部權，任劉應賓爲文選，濁亂銓政，以賄爲遷遠高下，清卿要秩，皆有定價，再舉考選，所擢給事御史，悉其私人，嘗欲罷撫按糾荐，令輸金於官，糾者免，荐者予，其謬誕如此。江西副將陳麟鄧林奇以功當爲總兵，大鋮徼其賄萬二千金，始給勅印；諸白丁隸役輸重賂，立躋大帥；都人有「職方賤如狗，都督滿街走」之謠。初，士英本德大鋮，故排衆議起之，所言無不從；及大鋮勢盛，則結內奄，徑取中旨，勢且陵其上，吏部尚書缺，士英欲用張國維，而大鋮先以授張捷，士英愕眙良久，始畏大鋮矣。或曰：「今海宇崩離，瞻烏未定，公何苦乃爾！」大鋮曰：「古人不云乎？吾日暮途遠，吾故倒行而逆施之。」左兵內犯，黃得功率師入援，大鋮與劉孔昭等羅拜之，得功曰；「拒寇吾職也，諸君何爲若此乎！」得功再敗左兵，大鋮以爲指使功，再賜銀幣，與朱大典俱加太子太保。越日，而上幸太平，大鋮入見舟中，上思幸浙，命朱大典先行治兵，大鋮因隨之入金華，大典留與治軍事，士民知者，復檄逐之，乃途方國安軍，士英已

先在，頗悔用大鋮以敗國，而己亦流離無所容也，與相齟齬，大鋮乃陰通欵於大軍。』

皖髯事實云：『聖安蒙塵後，大鋮由太平逃奔浙東，投金華朱大典，大典固與同官交好，方舉義婺州，聞其至甚喜，留之與共治軍，大鋮即身任其事，是時金華軍容頗盛，義餉大饒，大典將悉以付之，義軍譁，紳士公檄聲其罪，逐之出境，大典遣人護送至江東，入方國安營。馬士英與國安同里，先在其營，大鋮善論談，至則掀髯抵掌，國安爲之傾動，與士英論多不合，士英亦以南渡之壞，半由大鋮，而己居其惡，意固不平，由是漸相矛盾。有方端士者，懷寧人，與國安聯宗，爲其記室，至是以僉事銜管江頭提塘事，台州推官潘某，某子也，固爲大鋮氣類，在台激變，奔杭，值北師至，投誠，補杭州同知，其家留台，悉匿端士所，杭越書信，往來不絕，大鋮因是潛通降表於北，且以江東虛實啓聞北帥，在江頭爲間諜者幾一年，而越人不知也，故後錄用降官，有「阮大鋮投誠獨早」之旨。丙戌六月，貝勒渡江，馬士英與方國安等走台州，大鋮獨至江頭迎降，蓋馮銓已薦爲軍前內院矣，旣見貝勒，於衣領中出一紙條授之，有字數行，馮銓手書也。自是大鋮以軍前內院從征，急招士英國安出降，自請於貝勒，願爲前驅，破金華以報國恩。初，大鋮在金華，與大典閱城，至西關，大典語曰；「此門新築，土未堅，有事備禦宜嚴。」及是，大鋮專用大礮攻西門，門塌，城遂陷，焚戮甚慘，以報討檄之恨。（案錢秉鐙所知錄卷六，阮大鋮本末小紀與皖髯事實所載略同，「以報討檄之恨」句下注云，「以上得諸同鄉人流寓江東者之口，」此脫注語。）有金華府同知耿獻忠被縶至帳前，大鋮遙望見之，即呼曰：「耿父母也！」耿舊爲巢縣令，故稱父母，因向諸內院稱某素有吏才，可大用，親解其縛，留之帳下，自是獻忠朝夕不離大鋮。是時北兵所過，野無青草，諸內院及從征官無從得食，大鋮所至，必羅列肥鮮，邀諸公大暢其口腹，爭訝曰；「此於何處得來，」則應曰：小小運籌耳，吾之用兵不可測度，蓋不翅此矣。」其中有黑內院者，滿人，喜文墨，大鋮教以聲偶，令作詩，纔得押韵協律，即附掌擊節，贊賞其佳，黑大悅，情好日篤，諸公固聞其春燈謎燕子箋諸劇本，問能自度曲否？即起執板，頓足高唱，以侑諸公酒，諸公北人，不省吳音，乃改唱弋陽腔，

始點頭稱善，皆歎曰；「阮公眞才子也！」每夜坐諸公帳內劇談，聽者倦，既寐有鼾聲，乃出，遍歷諸帳，皆如是，詰朝，天未明，又已入坐帳中，聒而與之語，或誦其枕上詩，諸公勞頓之餘，不堪其擾，皆勸曰；「公精神異人，盍少睡，一休息？」大鋮曰：「吾生平不知倦欲休，六十年猶一日也，」及諸公起，鼎烹悉陳，復人人饜飫，蓋豫飭廚人以夜備矣。一日，忽面腫，諸內院憂之，語獻忠曰；「阮公面腫，恐有病，不勝鞍馬之勞，老漢不宜面腫，君可相語令暫駐衢州，俟我輩入關取建寧後，遣人相迓，何如？」獻忠以語大鋮，大鋮驚曰：「我何病！我雖年六十，能騎生馬，挽強弓，鐵錚錚漢子也，幸語諸公，我仇人多，此必有東林復社諸奸徒，潛在此間，我願諸公勿聽，」又曰：「福建巡撫已在我掌握中，諸公爲此言，得毋有意去耶！」獻忠復諸內院，內院曰：「此老亦太多心，我甚知東林復社與渠有仇，因見渠面腫，勸其在此少休息耳，既如此疑，卽請同進關可耳。」於是與大鋮同行，既抵關下，皆騎。按轡緩行上嶺，大鋮獨下馬，徒步而前，諸公呼曰：「嶺路長，且騎，俟到險峻處，乃下。」大鋮左牽馬，右指騎者曰：「何怯也！汝看我筋力百倍於汝後生！」蓋示壯以信其無病也，言訖，鼓勇先登，不復望見，久之，諸公始至五通嶺，爲仙霞最高處，見大鋮馬拋路口，身踞石坐，喘息始定，呼之騎，不應，馬上以鞭擊其辮，亦不動，視之，死矣！諸公乃下馬，聚哭極哀，急命置薪舉火焚其屍，家僮固請全屍歸葬先壠，諸公不能久待，畀以十二金，命爲殮具，僕下嶺求棺，數十里外無居人，三日後，乃得門扉一扇，募土人往移之下，則已潰爛蟲出矣。（「原注：以上投降後事，得之耿君口述，」案明史馬士英傳云：「野乘載士英遁至台州寺，爲僧，爲我兵搜獲，大鋮國安先後降，尋唐王走順昌，我大兵至，搜龍扛，得士英大鋮國安父子請王出關爲內應疏，遂駢斬士英國安於延平城下，大鋮方遊山，自觸石死，仍戮尸云。」此所云野乘，不知何書，錄此以存異說。）耿君字伯良，粵東反正，擢陞司空，戊子冬，在端州劉侍郎舟中敘其事甚詳，袁總憲在坐，屬余紀之，併爲斷絕篇一首，大鋮斬而無嗣，故以斷絕名篇也。」

阮大鋮之降淸，皖釋事實謂由於台州推官潘某，考此潘某，卽中江社之首事潘映婁字次魯者也。所知錄卷六，阮大鋮本末小紀云：「有方端士者，懷寧人，與國安聯

宗，爲其記室，至是以僉事銜，管江頭提塘事，台州推官潘映婁，在黨潘汝禎子也，在台激變，奔杭請兵除亂，値北師至，遂投誠，補杭州同知，其家屬留台者，悉匿端士所，杭越書訊，往來不絕，大鋮於映婁氣類也，因是潛通降表於北，且以江東虛實啓聞北師，在江頭爲北間諜者幾一年，而越人不知也，故後錄用降官，有「阮大鋮投誠獨早」之旨。丙戌六月，貝勒渡江，馬士英方國安等走台州，大鋮獨至江頭迎降，蓋知馮銓已薦爲軍前內院矣，貝勒問軍中誰識阮大鋮者，大鋮言杭州同知潘映婁，係臣同鄉，召來識認可也，乃檄映婁到越，初，映婁以己卯副榜，考授通判銜，弘光時，冒推官銓選，大鋮不知，上疏引映婁爲證，猶稱其通判原銜，映婁恚，及是渡江，趑趄不肯進，大鋮哀懇至再，乃許之，曰：「我見貝勒，惟曰臣識其面，未識其心，」大鋮唯，與誓諸神，約得志日，必以兩司相酬，映婁乃入見，於是貝勒召大鋮至」此節皖髯事實中已删去，蓋所知錄爲史類，故從實書；皖髯事實列於文集，錢與潘曾同列中江社，故爲隱諱乎？由此觀之，中江社之結果，得潘映婁而阮大鋮乃降淸而喪身；得錢秉鐙而阮大鋮之奸蹟乃因同鄉同社而傳播於天壤。余故於阮大鋮生平事蹟，特采錢秉鐙所記皖髯事實入之於篇者，以中江社員而記中江社末之歷史，尤爲親切而有味焉。

計六奇明季北畧周延儒續記條云：「宜興（延儒，宜興人）再召，通內而輸幣帛者，馮涿州也，（名銓）奔走而爲線索者，太倉張溥嘉興吳昌時也，擘畫兩年，綸綍始下。」然則周延儒之再相，由於復社首領張溥之推轂，（此事他書亦有記載）阮大鋮賂周延儒，而馬士英乃督鳳陽，乃立福王，而大鋮乃得獨握朝綱，誅鋤復社，爲一網打盡之計，以報列名逆案，及留都防亂揭之恥，復社後人撰明史，置周延儒於奸臣傳，而不一詞用周延儒之張溥，實非公允。張溥爲復社首領，而用周延儒，因之復社瀕於滅，南都因以亡；正猶阮大鋮爲中江社首領，而用潘映婁，爲後來降淸之介，因之身死，猶其小事，乃招方國安降，敗朱大典軍，導淸軍入仙霞嶺，而福京又因以亡，故阮大鋮者，可謂三次亡明者也！而其始乃皆由社黨之爭，余故於明季社事始末，樂爲之詳細推繹，以爲黨而不國者戒，特於中江社考爲之發其凡焉。

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